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OF  
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EDITED BY  
PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., F.E.I.S.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

*WITH the present issue we begin the seventh year of the 'Critical Review,' and we have the pleasure of announcing that the Publishers have resolved to enlarge the Volume to the extent of four sheets. The price will remain as before. This addition of 16 pages per Part will make it possible to overtake a larger number of books, and will add, we trust, to the usefulness of the Journal.*

*We take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the valued help we have had from our esteemed Contributors, and the kind communications which have been sent us from many different parts of the world in appreciation of the 'Review.' We have also to thank the various Publishers, at home and abroad, who have been so prompt and attentive in sending Books for notice. It will be an additional favour if they will remember to forward in all cases the prices of their Publications. We shall spare no pains to make the 'Review' more and more serviceable as a critical survey of the Theological Literature of the day, and we ask the kind co-operation of all interested in it in making it still more widely known.*

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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## Christian Ethics.

*Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1895, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., by T. B. Strong, M.A., Student of Christ Church. London: Longmans, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 380. Price, 12s.*

WITH few, if any, marked exceptions, recent Bampton lectures have been directed to questions of living interest, and have struck straight at the vital point. In this respect Mr Strong's volume—in spite of the doubt which he hints that some may feel—is not untrue to the later and better tradition. Does Christianity make men better than they would otherwise be? and, if so, how does it do this? are questions which were never of more real concern than to-day. There seem to be two main lines along which the criticism of Christian ethics is at present moving. On one the contents of the teaching are attacked, as when the Positivists maintain that the Christian system is now confronted with a morality which not only rests on a less disputable basis, but is also purer and loftier in itself, and capable of exerting a more widespread influence. This is a contention which raises many interesting points, and is well worth challenging. But on this Mr Strong has little or nothing to say, at least directly. He argues at length the question whether, and if so, why, Christianity realised its ideal to a degree unknown to earlier systems; but he does not directly compare its ideal with that of some modern theories of life. On the other line it is contended that the Christian morality may be retained, and even purified, while the Christian doctrines are discarded as *Aberglaube*, only hindering, at the present stage of the world's development, the general acceptance of the moral teaching. It is against this attitude that Mr Strong directs the whole force of his polemic. His line of argument is so far unfashionable in that it maintains that in every age, and under all conditions, the warfare of the individual with sin is the same, and that it must be fought with the same weapons. While others have laid stress upon the evolution of a more enlightened and sensitive morality among the average of mankind, he seems to put this aside almost impatiently as of little moment, compared with the persistence of the struggle of each new generation with the old problem of personal righteousness. Hence Mr Strong's lectures have little more than the title in common with such books as Dr Newman Smyth's well-known and valuable treatise. They rarely

take up the same ground, and when they do, they approach it from different points of view.

The necessary limitations of a preacher have compelled Mr Strong to keep quite distinct his main line of argument, and the detailed historical discussion and illustration of various topics arising out of it. The former may be set forth and enforced in a series of sermons: the latter not so. Hence his volume contains eight well written and, at times, eloquent lectures; and attached to these a number of detailed notes, sometimes comparatively brief, sometimes extending almost to the length of a treatise. These notes must be passed over briefly in the present article, though the brevity of the notice is not to be taken as the measure of their value. The first treats of the ruling principles of life in classical days: its two main points are, (1) that the Greek idea of divine *φθόνος*, which ruins men out of sheer jealousy, and that of an inexorable necessity, ruling alike the lives of gods and men, equally imply a belief that life is ultimately irrational; and (2) that passion (or emotion) is a mischievous and incalculable element, which is not so much to be controlled as to be extinguished, and which therefore cannot be brought into a theory of life. These two conclusions mean that the deepest thinkers find resting on all human life a cloud of perplexity and failure. Both these points are true and valuable; but Mr Strong would doubtless be the first to admit that the influence of the popular religions of Greece and Italy, with their many-sided manifestations, cannot be summed up in a couple of sentences. The second deals with Judaism and the Law, and argues that the Jews differed from the Pagans, not in the way of approaching God,—through sacrifice and prayer—but in the nature of the God whom they approached; and that the weakness of Judaism lay in its incomplete power of access. This note contains some needful corrections of the popular notions as to the “spiritual religion” of the prophets. Passing over two careful and interesting notes on the use of the terms *virtue* and *πίστις*, we find a very full note (pp. 143-206) on the growth of moral theory from Philo to Augustine. This is mainly directed to show that, besides combining the ethical elements derived from Judaism and Hellenism, the teaching of the Church came to add a distinctive element of its own. Another long note, appended to Lecture V. (pp. 233-266) deals with the history of the Christian doctrine of sin, especially in connection with the problem of free-will. That added to Lecture VI. treats of the problem of the attributes of God; and shows how the raising of this problem is really the theological way of asking whether we can trust the moral sense. All these disquisitions contain much valuable matter. Mr Strong has hardly kept to his promise of referring to all his modern authorities in footnotes; but



even allowing for the help that may have been derived from these, his treatment shows a remarkably wide knowledge of the Fathers and the Schoolmen. It would be unfair to say that *la sauce vaut mieux que le poisson*; but certainly some of his most valuable contributions to the history of ethical thought are to be found in these learned notes.

But to proceed to his main line of argument. The attempt to follow it, not always quite an easy one, is much aided by an excellent analysis, upon which, when occasion arises, I shall draw freely.

The contention of the first lecture is that the attitude towards life of the Greek and the Jew alike is marked by an air of disappointment and failure. This is due in the former case partly to the fact that ethics was treated as a science, aiming solely at the formulation of facts; partly to the result of this, that externally imposed ideals brought with them no motive strong enough to dominate the will. There is, of course, nothing new in this; *video meliora proboque deteriora sequor* is the final sentence on the ethics of the most elevated Paganism. But it is worth while saying once more in face of the modern Neo-Pagan ethics, which, with all their charm of culture, are proving just as powerless; and it is said and illustrated well. In the case of the Jews the moral ideal was not left to exercise its own attractive influence; it was embodied in a law; but this law only stood outside and issued commands. Its working on the will was limited to those whose spiritual nature was such as to respond to it. "In hard, narrow unspiritual natures it produced the most unlovely character almost that has yet appeared in history; with less moral depth and more stiff self-righteousness than has been developed under any other system of moral principles. When it failed, it failed grievously. When it succeeded, it declared itself incomplete." Here again Mr Strong does not do more than expand the dictum of St Paul, that "righteousness came not by the Law," though there is much which is very instructive in the reasons for this. It may occasion more surprise to find the Bampton lecturer placing the Sermon on the Mount in the same category as the Mosaic law, and pronouncing it equally liable to St Paul's sharp sentence, "the Law killeth." So far as it is a law—though the "Teaching" is surely more than this, with all that it has to say about the Kingdom—Mr Strong is right. The one and the other alike command from without.<sup>1</sup> "As if a law were made easier to

<sup>1</sup> It is tempting, perhaps, but surely incorrect to treat, as Mr Strong does, Matt. v. 48 (*ἔσσεθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι*) as a promise, not a command. The parallel of Deuter. xiii. 18 is enough to decide that the verb must be a virtual imperative. It is misleading to speak of "the true text"; there is no difference of reading which touches the interpretation.

keep by being made more difficult." So far from being, as many now think, the substance and the essence of Christian morality, it is hardly Christian morality at all. The new relations which are the basis of Christian ethics are scarcely adumbrated here. The Gospels indeed throughout contain extremely little moral exhortation. What instruction of this kind is to be found in them arises out of Christ's opening up of the permanent moral meaning of the events on which he made comment. It is incidental, and nowhere takes the form of a code. It is true that in them the ideal becomes historic; it is no longer imaginary: but an ideal is not the easier to imitate because it is historical. The true significance of Christ's human life lies in his revelation of the secret of His power; and this He often indicates to be His union with the Father. Now it was only after His Resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit that it was, or could be, realised how this union was possible to all men, viz., by their being united by the new spiritual life to Christ Himself. This gives a new ethical impulse, the strength of which could be and was directly experienced. Hence we see why faith in Jesus as the revealer of the Father was the substance of the Apostle's teaching.

Here one is tempted to feel that Mr Strong is putting unduly into the background the more immediate, as compared with the ultimate, reasons for the new life which came into the world. As a basis for theological explanation, his analysis is admirable; and we may have to fall back upon it as bringing out what in the long run would prove a necessary factor. But the question arises whether it was not in the first instance a simpler force which told upon the vast mass of the early converts. Can we really in most cases go behind the passionate devotion to a Person, called out by a belief in His infinite self-sacrificing love? The theological justification of this is one thing; the historically operative force is another. The consciousness of the Church found the former needful for the permanence of the latter; but it would be hard to show that it began with it. In somewhat the same way Mr Strong is right in laying stress on the treatment of man as a social being by Christianity, and on the unity into which every Christian is admitted by baptism as the *normal* environment of every Christian soul. But he would have been more true both to theory and to experience if he had not gone beyond his earlier assertion that this is *one* important motive to moral action. The distinctively Christian forces making for righteousness may be and are at times found fully operative outside of what he treats as their necessary conditions.

In dealing with the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, Mr Strong points out that the Apostles provide no system

of Christian duties ; their ethical judgments, like those of Christ Himself, are almost always incidental, in connexion with occasional circumstances. But these three moral ideas frequently emerge into view, often associated with each other. They set forth fully, when combined, the attitude of men towards the facts on which the new creed rests. And they have a direct bearing on the old problems of life. The end of man, so long discussed in the schools, is now seen to be conscious union with God through Christ. The unruly element of passion, with which the Greek philosophers had found it so difficult to deal, is brought into line, because hope and love themselves dominate and transform the emotions, and do not leave them to be controlled by reason as an alien force. The question why these three theological virtues are necessary factors in the Christian life is answered when we remember that they, and they alone, unite the Christian with the central facts on which the Christian dispensation rests, and with that new and spiritual order into which it was the mission of Christ to translate him. The difficult question of the nature of faith is dealt with carefully. The varying senses in which the word is used by different writers of the New Testament are distinguished ; and it is finally defined as a continual habit of confidence in the Wisdom and Love which guides the course of the world. But this confidence is based upon an acceptance of the historical tradition of the life and work of Christ, and of the interpretation put upon it by the New Testament and the Church Catholic ; and therefore it is a virtue, or perfect state, of the intellect made possible by the existence of a certain state of the will.

The theological virtues give the most profound exposition of a man's moral character, determining as they do his relation to the true end of life. The four cardinal virtues represent the ideal of Greek life ; but they needed to be reinterpreted before they could answer to the Christian ideal. This was due mainly to the new view of the value of human personality, and to adjust the current ethical conceptions to this was a serious problem for the Church, which was solved only by degrees. Ultimately the virtues find their place as modes of the love which is the life of the new society. Mr Strong very acutely notes how the danger that the Christian ethical theory should lead to a narrow individualism is met by the strenuous assertion of the equal manhood of all men ; for this carries with it the impulse as well as the duty to extend the faith to all. A church which is not a missionary church is lacking in one of the most necessary conditions for a harmoniously developed ethical life.

The lecture on the ethical meaning of sin shows how the conception of sin as inevitable, due to the present conditions of man's life,

gives rise to political rather than ethical systems, and suggests a change in the surroundings rather than in the man. Christianity, here drawing upon Judaism, views it as rebellion; but it treats it more coolly, though not less severely. There is less of panic, less of passionate indignation, "because it is no longer a haunting fear against which it is impossible to provide, because the separation between man and God is at an end . . . the whole nature of man has been raised up into relation with a spiritual order." This is a striking and profound remark. It leads to two conclusions which would hardly be anticipated. First, that a wilful breach of contact with God must be possible in the intellectual region, and that when it occurs it is sin. We hear so much at present of the duty of unbiassed search after truth, and of the faith that lives in honest doubt, that it is well to be reminded at times that there may be sin in the use of the intellect as well as of the affections. Second, that "failures to do what the conditions of society demand, failures still more to answer the claims of the spiritual society, are not only misfortunes and injuries to the fabric of society, they are sins against God." Hence, as the very basis of the Christian scheme is the solidarity of mankind, and the creation of a society of which purity from all sin is the law, the Church must exercise a discipline over individual members. On this point Mr Strong dwells at greater length afterwards; and we must return to it then to consider exactly what he means by it. The question of the nature of the society which Christianity postulates will also arise later.

The lecture on Morality and Reason is an attempt to answer the question why the individual will should be bound to obey the command of God; and the rational justification of this is found to lie in the fact that His commands are the expression of Divine Wisdom. If the Divine King is perfectly wise, in the only sense which we can imply when we use the term, it is simply irrational for us to refuse obedience to His commands. Here is found the answer to Mr Kidd's difficulty that reason can never explain the surrender of individual interests to those of society. This meets not less Mr Arthur Balfour's argument that authority is the source of most of our beliefs, and that it is therefore idle and misleading to look to reason to justify them; that our convictions have been accepted unquestioningly from our "psychological climate," the validity of which we have never seriously attempted to test. Mr Strong argues admirably that in the Incarnation we have the manifestation of the whole Wisdom and Love of God in their inseparable union. There is, of course, nothing novel in this: but it finds its place just at the right point of the argument. There is no passage in the book which rises to a higher key than this: unfortunately, it is too long for quotation. It is all the

more welcome as it follows on a somewhat technical statement of the views of the schoolmen, Aquinas, Scotus, and Ockam.

The seventh lecture is in substance a protest against false conceptions of Christian ethics, which came in with the Reformation. Up to that date, in Mr Strong's judgment, the Church had met with fair success in its task of moralizing the world. It had developed and systematized the theological and moral principles on which Christianity was based. The development of monastic life shows that the Church has set up a very high standard of self-denial; and the extent of the penitential literature proves that it had largely succeeded in coercing and civilizing the rough wills of the rude people which it embraced. But from the time of the Reformation there has been growing a gulf of separation between the doctrine of the Church and morality. It has no longer been held that the one basis of Christian morality is the new life bestowed in Christ: it has come to be felt that doctrine is simply an irrelevant appendage. Mr Strong recognizes that the theological Reformation was accompanied by a strong and whole-hearted yearning for good: but he believes that none the less the divergence between morality and the creeds, "which is notorious in England, and still more in Germany," naturally, and as a fact, began with this. Yet "the Reformation was an effort to restore primitive belief and practice, to bring morality again within the range of Christian teaching, and to get rid of the shameful spectacle of a Christendom which was morally debased." What is the explanation? The lecturer finds it in three facts: the revolt against a usurped authority led to the revolt against all authority; the reassertion of the position of the individual passed into a pure individualism; the rejection of the exclusive claim of ecclesiastics to control the State led to the substitution of the State for the Church as the true home and the natural sphere of action of the human spirit. But these have led, he holds, to a destruction of the unity of life. "Religion, on the basis of pure individualism, is not naturally, and cannot be, the supreme motive, and the synthetic force which binds together and makes rational all the various elements of life." It may be suspected once more that Mr Strong is over-subtle in his analysis. Without denying the existence of the forces which he traces, may we not say that the tendency to separate religion and morality was, with plain men, then as now, just the fact that they were not found in practice to have any connexion? When those most faithful to their religious duties were also the most ambitious, the most faithless, the most tyrannous, who could readily believe that creeds and sacraments had any relation to conduct? The peasant and the burgher of the sixteenth century were not so unlike the British working-man of to-day. If he sees moral strength and



beauty in action, he will ask as to its source and believe what he is told; if a life does not attract him, it will be useless to tell him that it ought on all theory to be ideal. But a graver objection lies against Mr Strong's treatment of this topic. It is idle to find fault with a book for what it does not contain; and eight sermons, of a length tolerable only to long-suffering congregations, give but scanty space for any development of the preacher's main positions. Much of what is most interesting in the application of the principles of Christian ethics Mr Strong has deliberately put aside. No questions can be of more importance than those which concern the interpretation of commands of Christ in the light of modern economic science or experience—questions of communism, of usury, of marriage, of temperance. But they do not suggest themselves naturally in his treatment of the subject. It is not quite the same when he considers the relation of the Christian to the State. On the one hand he ignores too much the fact that the State, not less than the Church (and much more than any section of the Church), is an ordinance of God. It is a great thing to be "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," it is no little or mean thing to be members of the common state, sharing in the memories, the traditions, the responsibilities and the hopes which bind every Englishman to his fellows. Has Christian ethics nothing to say to the whole, as well as to the part? The course of history has so moulded this state of ours that a unity based upon a common creed, still more upon a single organisation, can never again embrace the whole of its members. Is it not well to keep in view, and to lay stress upon, the bases of unity which still are possible? Mr Strong has emphasised the limitations of a religion based upon pure individualism. But there is an element here which surely has a strongly uniting force. It is significant of the lines on which Mr Strong has treated his subject, that there is nowhere, if I am not mistaken, any reference to *responsibility*, yet this conception is very near to the centre of the notion of religion. So long as the members of a State feel that they are responsible to the supreme ruler for their words and acts there will be a true unity of moral action, which a futile or fictitious assent to the same creeds could never produce.

The purport of the last lecture may be summed up in one phrase, to which, indeed, the whole argument has been converging, that the Church should resume its functions of discipline. After repeated reading I find it quite impossible to determine what Mr Strong really means by this. He says that there are two obvious objections to it—first, the danger of casuistry, and second, the danger of sacerdotalism. In the case of the two typi-

cal instances of the former, the Pharisees and the Jesuits, Mr Strong argues that the evil arose from the fact that the intellectual faculty was misused in the interests of moral perversity. This, of course, is in no way inherent in the practice; definite guidance may be given from the purest and highest motives. The latter he finds arising whenever the laity and the priesthood are separated in the conception of the Christian life. On both these heads he has some sound remarks. But when he passes on to explain what he means by the revival of the functions of discipline, there is a vagueness in his language which is to me simply bewildering. "Of course the old universal claim of the priesthood to direct the moral lives of men is, in England, at least, an obsolete custom, dead beyond all hope of rising again." A recovery of discipline is defined as "the restoration of an internal spirit in the Church," a feeling of the Church as one body united to one Head, following one law in the strength of one Spirit. But when we ask how this would affect the moral conduct of the individual, we are left with little guidance. We are told that it should be a recognised fact that Christians would take a Christian view of all things which come under their cognisance. A consummation devoutly to be wished, and one towards which Christian teachers of every sect are unwearingly labouring. Four out of every five sermons that one hears—at least of the good ones—are directed to this object. But "discipline" is a meaningless term unless it implies penalties for its infraction. We can understand the discipline exercised by a priestly order, which visited with tremendous penalties any rebellion against their guidance, even in thought and will. But to say nothing of other most serious objections, this involves the habitual practice of auricular confession, that motives may be known and judged with at least as much severity as more venial open offences. It is a graver moral delinquency to give an unconscientious vote at an election than to get drunk and disorderly; and a Church discipline is morally ineffective which can punish the latter, but must let the former go free. But again the Church in England is quite without the means of giving the decisions needful for any discipline in the true sense of the term. Would a graduated income-tax be a dishonest plundering of the rich, or legitimate consideration for the poor? Ought we to have followed the Bishops in voting against the abolition of the slave-trade, or against the representation of Manchester and Birmingham? Who is to be the mouth-piece of the Church? It is with deep regret that I find myself compelled to differ so widely from the ultimate outcome of a book in which there is much which is instructive, and much more which, if not novel, is admirably

stated. But I cannot but feel that here Mr Strong is oscillating between what is obvious and all but universal, and what is visionary and dangerous. If he means that Christian teachers are to hold up a high standard of duty for Christians as such, *quis negabit?* If he means that the Church has a right and a duty so to control its members as to secure by the infliction of penal measures (such as temporary or complete expulsion) that they shall not live by secular standards, then he is claiming for it a function for which it has not either the officials, or the processes, or the criteria. Conduct flagrantly inconsistent with the Christian profession is a different thing, and of that we are not speaking; but a general lowering of the moral tone, resulting in a falling short of the full demands of the Christian life, can never be dealt with otherwise than by an inspiration of spiritual force, and then no discipline will be needed. A. S. WILKINS.

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### A History of the Hebrews.

*By R. Kittel, Professor in the University of Breslau. In 2 vols. Vol. II. Sources of Information and History of the Period down to the Babylonian Exile. Trans. by Hope W. Hogg and E. B. Speirs. (Theological Translation Library. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., and the Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D.) Lond.: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 420. Price, 10s. 6d.*

THIS concluding volume of Kittel's work will be very welcome to those who do not care to use the original. The volume covers the whole history both of Israel and Judah from the settlement in Canaan down to the fall of Jerusalem in 586. The review of so extended a period within the compass of 400 pages implies the omission of a mass of details; but this is just what constitutes the charm and value of Kittel's book, that neglecting details it sketches the significant movements of the history in bold and graphic lines. It is the spirit of the history which the author seeks to detect and reveal. The book is anything but a meagre outline of the commonplace incidents of the story of Israel known to everybody. Many a time, even when narrating familiar episodes, the author puts his finger on some incident usually overlooked, and combining it with the familiar details, gives the whole a new meaning, and sets the conduct of the chief actors in a different light.

As in his former volume, Kittel gives first a literary criticism of the materials, the narratives in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which are available for historical treatment, and then on this foundation rears his own historical construction. In estimating these early



narratives he pursues a *via media*, declining on the one hand to at once discard them as legendary and historically worthless, and recognising on the other that their details require examination. As the result of this examination, he is able in most cases to maintain that there is an important historical element in the most ancient stories, which it is the duty of the historian to extricate and assign its place in the fabric of his narrative. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those in which the internal condition of the people at various epochs is sketched—their customs, religion, and morals. The section on the period of the Judges is particularly valuable. The processes that went on in this age, with their natural results, really afford the key to the subsequent religious history of the people, and particularly to the meaning of the prophetic writings. The Canaanite population was not exterminated by Israel, but absorbed into Israel, and with the population there necessarily was taken in also a mass of heathenish ideas and immoral rites. A new Israel arose, larger in bulk, and including masses of people devoted to lower religious practices, and living on a lower plane of morals; and in this way the higher religious and moral spirit of Israel had presented to it the task of penetrating and animating a mass of thought very dissimilar to itself. It is proof of the power and fresh vigour of the Jehovah religion that, notwithstanding Israel's inferiority in numbers to the native population, it did not succumb before the Baal worship. Israel did not become worshippers of Baal, but the Canaanites become worshippers of Jehovah. It could not but be that a religion of Jehovah would thus arise which was debased by many Canaanitish elements. Two religions of Jehovah thus existed side by side, a higher and a lower, the pure religion of Mosaic Israel and the debased religion created by amalgamation with the Canaanites; and it is the conflict between these two religions of Jehovah which fills the pages of the prophets and gives its profound meaning to the history of Israel. The religious mind of Israel did not develop altogether in a straight line from Moses downwards; it underwent a deflection on entering Canaan. This is the testimony of all the prophets; and to regard their view as unhistorical and nothing but their throwing back their own ideal upon Israel's earliest age is not only to do injustice to the historical sense of the prophets, but to disregard the data of history. Perhaps Kittel handles Saul somewhat harshly; and the concluding portion of his work, treating of the age of Jeremiah and the downfall of the state, has been made rather meagre by the necessity for compression. But, altogether, the work deserves the heartiest recognition.

Unfortunately the translation cannot be spoken of in very high

terms. Some parts of it read well enough, but it is never felicitous, and the English is often most helpless. Possibly the English reader will derive from it a general idea of what the author says, but it is what he says with the point too often broken off, and the colour too often effaced. We have made no formal comparison of the translation with the original, but merely while reading over the English turned up the original when something was encountered that caused a jolt in our progress. Not much weight is to be laid on such curiosities as "it is extremely impossible" (p. 227), on the omission of *not* in the sentence, Elah "has even taken the field" (p. 255), or on "*surer* and more certain of victory," for *purser* (p. 259), and similar things (p. 195); they are examples of carelessness, but nothing more. But the translators are curiously destitute of what might be called the sense of language. They speak of a *slender* impression, where the author says *wenig tief*—anything but *deep* (p. 259). Jeremiah is "consumed by a *warm* love for his nation," where the original says *hot*, for which some vigorous English word might have been found (p. 385). Saul "saw spectres everywhere which *brewed* disaster"! No wonder he went mad. In Kittel the spectres do not brew, they brüten (p. 119). And what could be more feckless than this in regard to Athaliah: "A daughter of the proud Jezebel, she was not disposed to vacate her place with any readiness"! This is putting it mildly, certainly. Or could anything be more ludicrous than this circumstantial way of expressing the idea that a decisive conflict between Nebuchadnezzar and Egypt was inevitable: "But when Nineveh fell *it was necessary that there should be some clear definite understanding* between Egypt and the new lord of the East as to which was to be master"—musste es zur entscheidenden Auseinandersetzung kommen (p. 389). The translation is full of imbecilities of this kind. But there are other things more serious. On p. 15 we read: "No one will regard it as a serious objection to this view that the Priestly writing P was not continued *through the time* of Joshua"—über die Zeit Josuas hinaus, *beyond* the time of Joshua. Surely everybody knows that P as well as JE carries the history *through* the time of Joshua. P does not go beyond his time, and the question which Kittel discusses here is whether J and E go beyond it. He is not convinced that they do, though the view has a number of supporters, such as Budde. It is incomprehensible how the editors could have passed a mistake like this. The middle paragraph on p. 17 entirely misapprehends the author's meaning, and is indeed unintelligible. Again, over the leaf, on p. 18, this occurs: "This being the case, it must recommend itself to us as the safer way, *in seeking the historical value of the Judge-stories for the time of their origin*, not to trust to the results already won

for E and J," &c. What "historical value for the time of their origin" might mean need not be discussed; what Kittel means is, that it will be safer "in enquiring into the historical value of the stories of the Judges, not to rely for the date of their origin upon the results already won for E and J." Kittel doubts if JE be found in Judges, and consequently considers the dates found for J and E in Pentateuch criticism not decisive for the dates of the narratives in Judges, each of which must be investigated independently. On p. 22 occurs an instance of what is so common in the translation, viz., missing the point of the author: "To it [the older narrative in Jud. xvii.-xxi.] belonged, beside the story of the outrage in ch. xvii., *perhaps* the account of *the* hostile procedure against Gibeah"—wohl die Nachricht über ein feindliches Vorgehen, *no doubt* the account of *a* hostile proceeding, &c. The point which Kittel makes is that in the older narrative there was no doubt the account of *a* or some kind of hostile proceeding against Gibeah, though not at all of such a proceeding as the passage in its present form describes. On p. 23 it is said of Samuel: "He believes he has found the right man *for them* in Saul—für sie is no doubt *for it*—viz., the royal crown, mentioned in the previous clause. The sentence on p. 67, near foot, has no meaning: "Two powerful and dangerous enemies of every normal development *of a feeling of common interest*, stood in Israel's way, retarding it at every step—internal want of union and attacks from without"; which should be, every normal development *of a community*, eines Gemeinwesens. Passing over a multitude of minor inaccuracies, we may note on p. 248: "She is said to have set up *the Ashera*, 'an abomination,' which was destroyed by Asa"—der Ashera einen Greuel, *i.e.*, erected to Ashera an abomination. Ashera is here a goddess. On p. 252 a really incredible mistake occurs: "Until the disappearance of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and thus *until the break up of the Philistine rule by Saul*, Dan contained a graven image"—also bis zu den Wirren der Philisterherrschaft vor Saul, *till the confusions of the Philistine rule before* (the time of) *Saul*. The continuation of the same sentence: "and then after this *it* seems to have been disused *as a sacred place*," is in direct contradiction to the footnote, "The sanctuary itself naturally continues to exist." It was the image that fell into disuse, not the sanctuary; there is nothing in the original for *as a sacred place*. One more instance out of many must suffice. On p. 318, "in Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the God of the world has decreed the breaking in pieces of His own people that *He may maintain justice in the world by means of* His moral world-order"—damit er in der Welt Recht behalte mit seiner sittlichen Weltordnung. The translation has no meaning. The

phrase *Recht behalten* does not mean "to maintain justice." The rendering of the expression on p. 369, "Isaiah had triumphantly *shewn himself to be in the right*," at least comes nearer its meaning. It is not easy to see why the translators sometimes omit important expressions, *e.g.*, p. 62, in the first two lines; p. 159, "Jahve's hand was withdrawn," which has no meaning without the omitted *adj. segnende*; and why should the words "direct to Jerusalem and Tyre" have been left out at the end of the first paragraph on p. 189? They certainly add to the meaning of the statement there. On p. 315 it is said of the prophets: "*incomparable in themselves*, and as unique in their performances," &c.—the first words probably meant to express Kittel's *denen kein Volk Aehnliches an die Seite zu setzen hat*, to whom no people has anything analogous to compare. Justice to Kittel and to his readers required that this very explicit statement about the Hebrew prophets should have been clearly brought out. The translators have not been quite equal to their task, though editorial supervision should have come to their help. But the Editors, like Baal, appear to have been on a journey, or peradventure sleeping.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

### **Jewish Life in the Middle Ages.**

*By Israel Abrahams, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 452. Price, 7s 6d nett.*

MR ABRAHAM'S new work, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," promises well for the Jewish Library of which it forms the first instalment. It is a fine piece of work, bearing evidence of the great industry and wide reading of the author. This will be seen from the index of Hebrew authorities given at the end of the volume; especially from the long list of *Responsa*. Of this branch of Jewish literature Mr Abrahams has made much more extensive use than his German predecessors in the same field; a branch of literature the more important as the "Questions and Answers" were mostly dealing with actual cases, not with imaginary or possible life.

The range of subjects such as life suggests, all of which fall under Mr Abrahams' scholarly treatment, is very wide, and nothing less than a full reproduction of the table of contents, with its three hundreds of headings, would give an adequate notion of the various religious and social topics which Mr Abrahams touches upon in his learned book. In fact, he accompanies the Jew from

his cradle to his grave, follows him through all stages of life, observes him both in his serious moments and his pastimes, makes himself acquainted with all his occupations, both sacred and secular, and enters with full sympathy into his joys and his sorrows. In this short notice we cannot attempt even to hint at this variety of subjects. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves only to a few general remarks.

The centre of this life was, as Mr Abrahams rightly tells us, the Synagogue. "The Jewish quarter seems to have grown up round the Synagogue, which was thus the centre of Jewish life, both locally as well as religiously." The main functions of the Synagogue were prayer and teaching, and the regulation of the charities. But considering that there was hardly a moment in Jewish life which was not sanctified by prayer, and that on the other hand learning was not limited to a caste, but "all thy children be taught of the Lord." The atmosphere of the Synagogue soon enveloped the whole life of the Jew. The private houses were only as many extensions of the Synagogue, in which the morning prayers were continued, by the grace spoken before and after the meals, and by various other benedictions on every possible and impossible occasion. Prayer, says an old Jewish mystic, is the moment when heaven and earth kiss each other. The old Jew seems, as a true lover, to have always been on the lookout to steal a kiss, and thus prayed under every pretence, in and out of season, in the house of God as well as in the streets and in his private dwelling. The great opportunity, however, for private worship was on the eve of the Sabbath and the festivals. Some writers, who pretend to penetrate through the darkness of the "Night of Legalism," maintain that among other pernicious effects of the acceptance of the Law was also this that it impaired the natural joy of the earlier times, for it was not the nation which returned from the exile, but a religious sect. Delitzsch, in his charming little book "*Iris*," (p. 189 seq.) has thoroughly disposed of this fallacy. "Unity of religion, common religious worship, and a central sanctuary are surely not things which rob a people of its national character." But it will be seen in Mr Abrahams' book how much gladness and rejoicing is compatible even with the life of a religious sect such as Jews were in the middle ages. "The Jewish table-songs," Mr Abrahams tells us, "were the bridge between the human and the divine, and they were at once prayers and merry glees" (p. 133). Our fatherland is the Bible, exclaimed once the well-known philologist Jacob Bernays. The Middle Age Jews were not only quite ready to die for this fatherland, but also to live for it and in it. And if the Sabbath imposed upon him many a privation, he was richly compensated by the



presence of his family, which would "remain for hours round the table, singing those curious but beautiful hymns :

' Light and rejoicing to Israel,  
Sabbath the soother of sorrow,  
Comfort of downtrodden Israel,  
Healing the hearts that were broken.' "

Of a similar strain of intense religious joy, tempered only by the memory of Zion, is the wedding liturgy. Mr Abrahams' chapter on marriage customs is particularly brilliant, perhaps the most interesting in the book, but we want only to draw attention here to the seven benedictions which formed a part both of the ceremony in the Synagogue and of the grace after the wedding banquet. The first mention of them is made in the second century, but they were probably composed long before. The sixth and the seventh run thus:—"O make the loved companions greatly to rejoice, even as of old Thou didst gladden Thy creatures in the garden of Eden. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest bridegroom and bride to rejoice." Then "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love, brotherhood, peace and fellowship. Soon may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies, and of youths from their feasts of song. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride." This divine joy, which develops in the later literature into *amor Dei*, becomes a favourite topic both with Jewish philosophers and with mystics (cf. Joel's *Lewi ben Gerson*, p. 69, and Zimmel's *Leo Hebracus*, p. 75).

The second main function of the Synagogue is, as we have said, teaching, or rather education. In chapters xix and xx Mr Abrahams gives us an excellent account of the mediæval Jewish schools, and the references in the footnotes will enable the student to follow up the subject to its earliest history in the pre-Christian era. The crowning product of these schools was the Rabbi. By means of the index the reader will find it easy to form some picture of this interesting Jewish species, both of his rights and his duties. We could have only wished that the author had seen his way to dwell a little longer on the significance of the various titles and dignities connected more or less with the Rabbi, as Eminence (Gaon), Leader (Nagid), Prince (Nasi), and Prince of the exile, which all in their turn disappear in the Middle Ages. The point about which we are mostly in need of information is that of ordination, which was the making of the Rabbi.

Maimonides, indeed, establishes a regular Rabbinical succession, beginning with Joshua (Numbers xxvii. 23) as the first ordained disciple by Moses, and brought down by the elders (Joshua xxiv. 31), and their successors—each ordaining those who were to follow after him—to the latest posterity holding courts of justice in the first centuries after the destruction of the Second Temple. We may take the statement for what it is worth; there is, probably, as much historical truth in it as in other successions of a similar nature. But there can be little doubt, from the New Testament, as well as from the Talmud, that the institution dates from very ancient times; though, according to the latter, it is rather doubtful in what the ceremony consisted, whether in the laying on of hands or in conferring the title of Rabbi. But of whatever nature it was, we know that the ordination was still in the second century considered to be of such importance that the famous martyr, Judah ben Baba, actually endangered his life to carry out this ceremony, which was forbidden by the Romans on political grounds. Still, about the beginning of the Middle Ages, the whole institution was abolished without any perceivable detriment to Judaism. Only in the sixteenth century a strained effort was made to restore it, but without success. Judaism meant to survive its orders, and the Rabbi had to become a simple student who acquires his authority, not on the strength of any external symbol, but by reason of his personal worth. Even any specific style of dress was resented. "Why are the disciples of the wise of Babylon distinguished by their dress?" exclaimed an old Rabbi, "because they are not the children of the Torah" (scholars). The *morenu* (our teacher) diploma of later ages which entitled the recipient to give decisions in ritual questions and to act as judge, was, as Mr Abrahams rightly points out, (p. 356) in no sense an ordination—but a mere *venia docendi*. But it is clear from Messer David Leon's Responsa, that even this harmless title was looked upon, in some quarters, as aping "the customs of the Gentiles who make doctors," just as in modern times some Rabbis begin again to play at imposition. Rather interesting is a diploma which has come down to us from antiquity running thus: "Behold, we have sent you a great man, and in what does his greatness consist? He is not ashamed to say I know not" (Jerushalmi Tractate Chagigah 77d). Another interesting remark in the same Talmud, in connection with our subject, is to be found in Tractate Bikkurim 65d. It refers to cases of Simony, the candidates having acquired their orders by a donation to the patriarch in whom the power of ordination vested. This abuse, as we read there, called forth the wrath of the more independent Rabbis, and they not only declined to call them Rabbi—

which practically meant as much as to declare their orders invalid—but applied to them the words of the Scriptures : Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold (Exodus xx. 21). Altogether, the whole history of Judaism bears witness to the fact that any concentration of authority, or any patronage of the Synagogue by the State, always proved fatal to it, retarding its progress and free development. The Synagogue is a democratic institution, and its constitution is essentially congregational, for wherever ten are occupied in the words of the Torah (or any other religious occupation) there the divine presence is resting among them, and can only thrive in the air of real freedom and liberty.

The organisation of the charities, which is another main function of the Synagogue, and the various occupations of the Jews which formed a part of their education, the father being advised by the Rabbis to teach his son a trade, are treated by Mr Abrahams in a very complete and scholarly manner, and will prove not less instructive to the philanthropist than to the political economist. We wish only to add here the following passage from *Die Textilkunst*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr Otto von Schorn, bearing evidence to the importance of the Jews for the maintenance and development of certain trades in the Middle Ages. "The 'point d'Espagne,' which plays so large a part in all court inventories of the Renaissance, was not really a kind of lace, but a sort of art-embroidery, in which gold and silver threads and coloured silks were worked together, by the intertwining of which they obtained a most artistic effect, still heightened by the frequent use of designs of Moorish style. As this branch of industry in former ages lay mostly in the hands of the Jews, every fresh expulsion of the Jews caused a great lack of such art works for Church decoration. In Spain, most renowned for this industry were chiefly the towns of Barcelona, Valencia and Seville." There is something ironically tragic in the thought that the clerical glitter and pomp at an Autodafé of Jews may have often been the product of Jewish taste and craftsmanship.

We have already stated that the centre of Jewish life was the Synagogue. The only serious fault we have to find with our learned author is that he did not more steadily cling to this centre, but granted too much space for such topics as athletics, games, card-playing and similar subjects. There may be something soothing in the thought of muscular religion which enables the young candidate for the ministry to look upon the cricket-field as a sort of consecrated ground, and upon his flannels as a kind of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this quotation to my friend Frau Professor Badt, of Breslau, who both drew my attention to it, and copied it for me.



holy vestments. But we are not aware that there is much room for such a deception in the Synagogue. On the whole, it was rather hostile to idleness under any form, and least of all has it encouraged men to make of idleness a fine art. Mr Abrahams says, in his admirable introduction, that the reader may possibly find that his book is less a survey of Jewish life than of Jewish lives. But are all lives worth living, or to be recorded as Jewish life? We venture to think that there would have been more unity in his work had Mr Abrahams not allowed his centre to be broken by those aspects of life which are mere accidents. Jewish life within the Synagogue, and its far extending influence, will never be devoid of a certain unity, much as this unity may be impaired by local conditions; outside the Synagogue the Jew loses his identity, and his life breaks up into lives. Regarding Jewish life from the point of view of the Synagogue, we shall also be able to account for the fact which Mr Abrahams finds so strange, that it was the German Jews "who ended in gaining influence over their brethren in Europe." The mental horizon of the Spanish Jew was undoubtedly wider than that of the Franco-German Rabbi, "to whom but the literature of religion was worth study." But people of a wide horizon are often apt to fall into a sort of mental squinting which, by constantly looking at both sides of the question, sees neither side clearly. The German Rabbi was "the master of one occupation," and this occupation was the Synagogue. The Synagogue of the saintly R. Meir of Rothenburg was certainly not so broad as that of the many-sided Ibn Kaspi, but it gained the more in depth. And in the end it is depth which carries the day. It would even seem as if the very versatility of the Spanish Rabbi proved in course of history fatal to the permanence of his work. I am thinking of two hymns which are still recited by the Jews, on the eve of the Day of Atonement; the "Song of the Unity," by an anonymous German Rabbi; and the "Crown of the Kingdom," by R. Solomon Ibn Gabirol, of Saragossa in Spain. The hymn of the Spanish Rabbi is undoubtedly the grander of the two, both in style and in philosophical conception. But whilst there is nothing in the "Song of the Unity" to which the worshipper of the nineteenth century could raise any serious objection, Ibn Gabirol unfortunately knew too much, and wove into his crown a long discursive meditation over the cosmos which, being based on the Ptolemaic conception of the Universe, is now entirely obsolete, and marked with the words: "Some omit it."

S. SCHECHTER.

**The Faith of Islam.**

*By the Rev. Edward Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., Fellow of the University of Madras. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. xvi. 370. Price, 12s. 6d.*

SINCE Mr Sell in 1880 published the first edition of *The Faith of Islam* it has remained the unrivalled authority on its subject. Written by one who, for fifteen years, had resided in India, and who had been during that time in daily intercourse with Musalmans, who also had made a diligent study of the recognised authorities, and proved himself able to use them with a mind singularly free from prejudice, it is not surprising that his book should at once have taken the place it took, and still retains. Until the appearance of Mr Sell's work, although the English reader had access to trustworthy lives of Muhammad, and to full and interesting histories of the extension of Islam, he was dependent for his knowledge of its doctrine on Sale's introduction to his translation of the Quran, or to Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*. The latter work was, indeed, of great merit. It treated the same subjects as Mr Sell handles, and with the same reference to the sources, and a similar familiarity with the present beliefs of the Musalman and their results in actual life. But, as Mr Hughes indicated in the title of his valuable book, he did not aim at the same completeness as Mr Sell. This completeness is much more nearly attained in the second than in the first edition of the *Faith of Islam*. "Revised and enlarged" means that every paragraph has been reconsidered and has received such alterations as seemed advisable, and that the volume has been increased by about a third, especially through the introduction of certain phases of modern Muslim thought in India and Persia omitted from the first edition.

Naturally, Mr Sell begins his work with an exposition of the Foundations of Islam. These are four in number: the Quran, Tradition, the unanimous consent of the leading theologians, and deductions, inferences, or applications of the utterances of the Quran, or of tradition. An analogy might obviously be drawn between the foundations of Islam and the foundations of the Romanist creed. And in this part of Mr Sell's exposition the reader is throughout pursued by the thought that as soon as the light of scientific criticism is let in upon the superstructure that is so based, it must utterly vanish as surely as a palace of ice dissolves before the sun. And the interesting passages in the history of Islam are those which describe the efforts which thinkers of

intelligence and earnestness have, from time to time, made to introduce some elasticity and spirituality into the system. Mr Sell's chapters on the Faith and practice of Muhammadans are eminently informative, but by far the most interesting chapter in the book is that which describes the heresies and unexpected developments of Islam. The Sufis and the Babis show us that under any religious system, however narrow and however rigid, the human soul will assert its right to truth and to expansion. The influence of the man Muhammad is felt to this hour, the influence of a man who had the one sole virtue of being obstinate in his convictions, but who was as far behind David in the poetry of devotion as he was behind St John in purity of character and St Paul in keenness of insight and modernness of mind. Could Muhammad have foreseen that among those born within the pale of Islam there would arise men of far higher religious genius and speculative power than himself, it might, perhaps, have modified his arrogance, and prompted him to make some provision for freedom of thought.

Mr Sell's account of the beliefs and sects of Islam is full and detailed, perhaps somewhat too detailed and technical for the general reader, yet eminently satisfactory to the student. Dogma is divided into "roots" and "branches," the former including the doctrine of God, and being founded on the Quran and tradition. Differences of opinion regarding the "branches" or deductions from the root doctrine, gave rise to the Muhammadan scholastic theology. All enquiry into the nature of God was forbidden, for "just as the eye turning to the brightness of the sun finds darkness intervene to prevent all observation, so the understanding finds itself bewildered if it attempts to pry into the nature of God." Even deductions from the dogma of the Quran were frowned upon and repressed: one Imam is reported to have said that a man who enquired into such matters should be tied to a stake and carried about, and that the following proclamation should be made before him:—"This is the man who left the Quran and the Traditions for the study of scholastic theology." But repression of human thought was found to be, here as elsewhere, impossible; and the various opinions cited by Mr Sell regarding the attributes of God, predestination, the future state, the angels, and other matters, are sufficient evidence that a full-grown theology has been developed out of the Quran and Tradition.

Books like this tend to dispel the romance that sometimes attaches to the religion of Muhammad. Mr Bosworth Smith and Lady Duff Gordon have said all that can be said in extenuation of the blemishes and in praise of the virtues of Musalmans. Mr

Sell shows no animus whatever, but his verdict is decidedly adverse. He strips Islam of the claim, so commonly made in its behalf, to have been the promoter of science and philosophy in the Middle Ages, and cites Renan to the same effect: "Arabian science and Arabian philosophy are often alluded to, and, in fact, during one or two centuries in the Middle Ages the Arabs were our teachers; but it was only until we were acquainted with the Greek originals. This Arabian science and philosophy was only a puerile rendering of Greek science and philosophy. When closely examined, moreover, this Arabian science has nothing Arabian in it. Its foundation is purely Greek; amongst its originators there is not a single true Shemite; they were all Spaniards and Persians who wrote in Arabic." As to its influence in civilisation Mr Sell is equally explicit: "When brought into diplomatic and commercial intercourse with States possessing the vigour and energy of a national life and liberal constitution, Muslim kingdoms must, in the long run, fail and pass away."

But it is not Mr Sell's conclusions and verdicts—which, indeed, are very few and most temperate—that impress the reader of his volume. It is the facts he brings before the mind. As the system unrolls itself before our eyes, two criticisms are silently passed upon it. First, it is a religion of law, of rites, and external observance, and is therefore two thousand years behind time. It is remarkable that although Muhammad was evidently indebted to the Talmud, or to Jews who knew the Talmud, for much of his knowledge, he should have known nothing of the teaching and mind of Jesus. He has not a glimpse of the spirituality and inwardness of true religion. He is in the swaddling clothes of legalism and ordinances without the faintest conception of the liberty and full-grown manhood of the sons of God. Prayer depends upon the right posture and the correct number of ablutions. There is a merit in fasting, and that merit is destroyed, if in washing the teeth a few drops of water are allowed to enter the throat; and so on, and so on, till the Rabbinic trivialities of the Jews seem respectable in comparison. That such a religion should claim to be a universal religion is proof that Islam as yet has not even conceived what true religion is. The religion that gravely declares that if a man washes his left hand before his right or his nose before his teeth, he cannot lawfully say the daily prayer enjoined on all Muslims, puts itself out of court altogether. As Dean Stanley says: "The ceremonial character of the religion of Musalmans is, in spite of its simplicity, carried to a pitch beyond the utmost demands of Rome or of Russia. Prayer is reduced to a mechanical act, as distinct from a mental one, beyond any ritual in the west. It is striking to see

the figures along the banks of the Nile going through their prostrations at the rising of the sun with the uniformity and regularity of clock-work; but it resembles the worship of machines rather than of reasonable beings."

A second criticism which has often and justly been passed upon Muhammadanism is its fixity: its inability to adapt itself to the growing intelligence of the civilised races. "Islam is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile like its God, lifeless like its First Principle and supreme Original in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation, and progress, and of these the Quranic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development." So says Mr Palgrave who probably understood Muhammadanism as well as any one has ever understood it, and who traced all its defects and blemishes to its radically false idea of God.

Mr Sell's learned and satisfactory work is likely, in its revised form, to retain its place for a long time to come as our highest authority on the faith and practice of Islam.      MARCUS DODS.

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### **Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.**

*Von Dr Friedrich Delitzsch, Professor in Breslau. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 4 vols. Subscriptionspreis, M.46.50 · geb. M.49.*

PROFESSOR DELITZSCH'S Assyrian Dictionary has been the labour of years. The form, however, in which it was first published, was not successful, and the author, wisely listening to the counsels of his critics, has now brought it out in a new and improved shape. In fact, the present edition, if such we may term it, gives the student just what he wants. It is clear, compact and well printed, and as practically useful as it is scientific. Every word noted in it is illustrated by examples, which enable the scholar to judge for himself whether or not he will accept the meaning assigned to the word. And the method of transliteration is such as to leave no room for doubt as to the cuneiform characters for which it stands. Finally, the work has been published in a handy and inexpensive form, fully justifying its claim to be a Manual as well as a Dictionary.

But it must not be supposed that it is a Dictionary in the sense of recording all the words that occur in the Assyro-Babylonian texts. It does not even give all the words which may be found in the published texts, and the published texts are but a fraction



of those which are preserved in the Museums of Europe and America. The student of Assyrian has not to go very far in his reading to come across words which he will not find in Professor Delitzsch's Dictionary. It will be years before anything approaching an exhaustive Dictionary of Assyrian can be compiled, if indeed this is ever possible. From this point of view, therefore, the Dictionary might rather be called a Vocabulary.

Nevertheless, it is far more than a Vocabulary, and is in real truth a Dictionary, though the Dictionary of a limited portion of Assyrian literature. It stands to the Assyrian Dictionaries of the future much as the English Dictionaries of two hundred years ago stand to the Dictionaries of the Nineteenth Century. And it is the first attempt to collect, classify and explain the words of a language which so short a while ago seemed hopelessly lost. The beginning in this case is half the whole; indeed, considering the difficulties of the undertaking, it is more than half the whole. The way has been cleared for those who come after us and who will have but a faint conception of the difficulties of the pioneer. Only those who have watched the progress of Assyriology, since the days when it was painfully essaying its first steps, can realise the labour and thought that have gone to the making of the work.

It is essentially the work of one man. It is not historical, like the *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* which Dr Muss-Arnolt is publishing, and in which the varying explanations of a word or root given by different scholars are recorded; on the contrary, it contains only the explanations of Professor Delitzsch himself, his views as to the meaning of words and phrases, and the relation they bear to one another. Such a method has its strength as well as its weakness; it gives unity and clearness to the Dictionary, though it also gives an impression of certainty which does not always exist.

In fact, in turning over the pages of the work, I have been struck time after time with the imperfections of our knowledge of the Assyrian vocabulary. In many cases the signification assigned by Professor Delitzsch to a word is not that which I should assign to it; in many more cases the meaning he gives is probable only. We are still a long way off from certainty in our translations of the Assyrian inscriptions, even though the general sense of them has been made out, and in the historical texts only a word here and there is of doubtful signification. But it will require long years of further labour and an examination of the multitudinous tablets which still remain uncopied before the translations of the Assyriologist can be placed on a level with those of the Greek and Latin scholar. After all, however, the translator of the Old Testament Scriptures is not much better off than the Assyriologist, and

in some respects he is worse off. His MSS. are not contemporaneous with the period when Hebrew was still spoken, and are therefore not free from corruptions of the text, the literature he has at his disposal is more limited in extent than the ever-increasing mass of cuneiform documents which are at the service of the Assyriologist, and the Hebrew alphabet takes no notice of the vowels like the syllabary of Babylonia, while the Assyriologist enjoys the help of innumerable lexical and philological tablets as well as bilingual texts, in which the Assyrian translation can be checked by its Sumerian original. Hitherto, the Assyriologist has been hampered by the want of a Dictionary, and his memory has well-nigh broken down under the accumulating weight of a vast literature; thanks to Professor Delitzsch this difficulty is now removed.

It is impossible here to notice the instances in which I should differ from Professor Delitzsch in the interpretation of words, or the numerous words which I should add to his list. Thus the adjective *tsénu*, which he supposes to mean "pious," is shown by the examples of its use which I have collected to have exactly the opposite signification, and *tukté*, which, after Jensen, he renders "bones," though with a query, is really "remains" or "remnant," corresponding with the Hebrew *shéár*. The fact is interesting, since in the ancient Babylonian work on astronomy, which goes back to the age of Sargon of Akkad (B.C. 3800), we read (W. A. J. iii. 61. 21, 22): "The Umman Manda (the Goyyim of Gen. xiv. 1) come and govern the land. The mercy-seats of the great gods are taken away. Bel goes to Elam. It is prophesied that after 30 years the remnant (*tuktú*) shall return and the great gods shall be restored with them." Here there is a close parallelism with passages of the Old Testament like Isaiah x. 21, and Jer. xxv. 11, 12.

Professor Delitzsch has added a few additional words in an Appendix at the end of his work, the last of which is *tillé*, which a passage he quotes proves to have been a metal object used in the harness of a horse. We may gather from this that I have been right in proposing to read as *tillé* a word found in the contract-tablets, where it is usually read *belé*, and interpreted "spears." The meaning is perhaps "skewers," the *tillé* of the horses being their "bits."

I must not forget to add that, in his Preface, Professor Delitzsch promises to discuss elsewhere "the great number of non-Semitic words with which the Assyrian vocabulary is filled." The recent discoveries of early Babylonian tablets have thrown a flood of light on these Semitised loan-words from Sumerian, and have shown that Assyro-Babylonian is, like English, a mixed language,

in which the non-Semitic Sumerian element occupies a very large place.

A. H. SAYCE.

**With Open Face, or Jesus mirrored in Matthew, Mark and Luke.**

*By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 332. Price, 6s.*

**The Cure of Souls.**

*By John Watson, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 244. Price, 6s.*

**The Lady Ecclesia: An Autobiography.**

*By Rev. George Matheson, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 332. Price, 6s.*

WHEN Dr Bruce, in his preface, speaks of the chapters of this volume as "popular sketches," "selected scenes," "the overflow from severer studies on the first three Gospels," he warns us that we are not to expect a complete treatment of the theme. As the purpose is to picture the human Jesus of the synoptics, the fourth Gospel is left entirely out of view. Only in one place (p. 168) is that Gospel used to supply a clue to an enigma of the synoptics. We venture to think that a complete picture, even of the human Jesus, requires the inclusion of the fourth evangelist. To go no further, the incidents of Cana, the well of Sychar, Bethany, add glorious features to the gracious humanity which our author portrays with so much charm and skill. And within the domain of the synoptics there is much teaching and history, which more than indicate the higher nature taught by John, and which are not included in the "selected scenes" of the present volume. Still, as we should judge a work by its professed purpose, we can only describe Dr Bruce's volume as perfectly successful. Dr Bruce sets out with the desire to commend to our admiration one side of the Lord's life and work; he does not say that this is all; and the result undoubtedly is to present Jesus of Nazareth, the great Prophet of Galilee, in a most winsome light. He says to us: "Hold up the picture and let men look at it. Set it in a good light, hang it well on the wall, remove from the canvas obscuring dust and cobwebs, if such there be; then stand aside and let men gaze till the Friend of sinners, the Man of sorrow, the great Teacher, begins to reveal Himself to their souls" (p. 21).



This is what he himself does in his volume, and every reader will be drawn into sympathy with his own loving reverence. Many a preacher will be thankful for suggestive hints and new points of view. The work reminds us strongly of the writer's delightful "Galilean Gospel." Dr Bruce is here in a congenial field. The synoptics are his favourite Gospels. And as true theology is advanced by different writers concentrating their study on special fields, we are too thankful for their several contributions to reproach them with neglect of other aspects of a vast subject. We must not suppose that they deny what they omit. The present volume treats the theme of the "Galilean Gospel" on a larger scale. Here, as there, the author's originality, unconventionalism, moral fervour, enthusiasm for humanity, come out strongly on almost every page. As to the second trait, take this sentence: "Whom I *uphold*: Jehovah backs His servant, ideal Messianic Israel, however despised, against all comers" (p. 23). I have noted also five instances of the use of "phenomenal" in the new, American sense, "phenomenal miraculous love." Would not "unique" be better? These are mere warts.

The first three chapters, delineating the characteristics of the synoptic gospels, are exceedingly graphic and generally just,—the three pictures being severally characterised as "prophetic, realistic, idealised." Mark, who is "unembarrassed by reverence," who tones down nothing and is not afraid to bring out all the facts, is evidently the author's special favourite. Luke, on the other hand, whom we should rather have expected Dr Bruce to take to his heart, comes in for a good deal of comment which almost amounts to unfavourable criticism. Luke seems to write with the fear of Theophilus and other fastidious spirits before his eyes, and so dare not describe things just as they are; the offence of the Gospel is tempered and smoothed down in many ways. His picture is "idealised," accommodated to special conditions in his readers. Dr Bruce is careful to say that this does not mean "dominated by a theological idea, or by a controversial tendency." Many supposed instances of this tendency are given, as *e.g.*, the way in which he "ever spares the Twelve." Some of the instances are certainly true and innocent enough. In some cases, perhaps, the point is pressed too far. Mark, on the other hand, is brusque, outspoken, fearlessly candid. He quotes the title "Carpenter" on the lips of the people of Nazareth, and the saying of the relatives of Jesus, "He is beside himself." "Jesus," Dr Bruce adds, "was a real, not an amateur carpenter, the difference being as great as between a volunteer soldier and one who engages in actual fighting." Most readers will share the author's enthusiasm for Mark, while equally thankful for the complementary pictures.

Some of Dr Bruce's bold, original suggestions challenge discussion. To the traditional title "Sermon on the Mount," he prefers "Teaching on the Hill," because the exposition is for disciples. "Teaching was for disciples, preaching for the people." There is reason for the suggestion. The discourse is evidently addressed to the inner circle of believers. But why change "Mount" into "Hill"? In Matt. vi. 27, "stature" is referred to height, not age. "The aim is to remind the anxious that God has done for every man arrived at maturity what no man, by any amount of thinking or wishing, can do for himself." The saying of Jesus about the "foxes" and "birds of the air" is understood of spiritual, not physical, homelessness,—the want of sympathy between the Lord Jesus and the men of His age. This is argued with much ingenuity (p. 217). The greatest departure, however, from old interpretations is in regard to Matt. xi. 28, which Dr Bruce understands, not as a universal invitation to the spiritually weary, but as the expression of the longing of Jesus for apt disciples, of whom He found few. It is argued that the tone of the chapter is one of lament over the general unwillingness to believe. Few, we imagine, will prefer the new interpretation. It is a little surprising that one, who is so enthusiastic for the grace of Christ's teaching, should accept a weaker interpretation of so great a saying. At the risk of being classed with St Luke's fastidious readers, the present writer confesses to a shrinking from Jesus Christ being contemplated as an example of the purity of thought enjoined in Matt. v. 27 *f.* (p. 241).

The points of interest are too numerous for detailed reference here. Many of the Gospel incidents are turned to good account in vindication of the historicity of the record. The Christian Primer at the end is a Catechism on a new plan. To quote the striking descriptions of the Lord's character we have noted, and the many shrewd hits and asides of the author, would be unfair both to author and readers. We give only one quotation: "Christ's doctrine of man is grand, and still at the end of nineteen centuries stands above Christendom a lofty, unreachd ideal. And what shall we say of Him who taught it not by word only, but still more emphatically by deed? Surely that He has earned the eternal honour of all who seek the good of their kind. With open face we see the Saviour and the Friend of Man, and His teaching and His example are the inspiration of all who desire to leave the world better than they found it."

Dr Watson's volume is sure to be widely read for its author's sake and for its grace of literary form; it deserves also to be read for its own sake and for its wealth of practical counsel. On all the

subjects entering into ministerial work—sermon-preparation, pastoral work, congregational organisation, public worship—the preacher will find much that is helpful and stimulating, not old platitudes, but counsel drawn from personal experience and modern life. If nothing new or startling is said, no one else could say it in the same way, with the same directness and force, the same delicate point and humour. In one respect Dr Watson's style reminds us of the sculptor's work—clear-cut, sharply defined—but it has none of the coldness of sculpture; indeed the precision of the sculptor's art seems to be wonderfully combined with the glow and richness of the painter. While the volume has all the lucidity which it demands in the sermon, it has also much of the pathos familiar to us in the author's other works; witness what is said of John xiv. (p. 189), and the picture of a certain pastor which is evidently a portrait from life (p. 195), and the Del Sarto's Head of Christ in the author's study (p. 243). There are many beautiful touches like the reprint of the title-pages of Baxter's *Reformed Pastor* and Herbert's *Priest to the Temple* (p. 178), and the tribute to the humble village pastor (p. 165). It is to be hoped that some of the descriptions are caricatures, as that of Evangelicals (p. 90), and the diary of a modern minister's daily round (p. 229). The Rev. Joseph Tomlinson's diary is surely a bit of Drumtochty humour (p. 52), just as much as the recipe for a sermon, "Tinct. Hodgii oz. i., Aquae ad oz. vi." (p. 57). There is, of course, much sarcasm, grim or humorous. Even Dr Watson, like Dr Bruce, speaks of "phenomenal"; but he is lecturing in America. He certainly would not find the word in the "masters of the English tongue," whom he so earnestly commends to the preacher as models of style. "Andrews" (p. 118) is a misspelling. The breath of modern life, which pervades the entire volume, is especially refreshing in the chapters on "Theology the Theory of Religion" and "The New Dogma."

Dr Matheson has essayed the bold task of describing under the veil of allegory the fortunes of the early Church up to the triumph of Christianity in the days of Constantine. In order to do this with any tolerable measure of success, he has had not merely, as he tells us, to compress "nations into miles and centuries into weeks," but also to limit his description to the most general outline of one aspect of the Church's many-sided life, viz., its political and ecclesiastical relations. The inner history of the Church is left out of view. Within these limits it is a true and vivid picture of the early conflicts and progress of Christianity that is given us. The author himself in the Preface interprets the characters for us. Ecclesia is "that inner life of Christianity which was originally the flower of Judaism." Hellenicus represents Greek thought in

contact with Judaism. The Lord of Palatine stands for the Roman Emperor, Caiaphas for the Jewish priesthood. Phoebe, the letter-carrier of the apostles, is the ministering influence of the new faith; the captain of the guard figures the imperial system; the "son of the star" is the false Christ. The difficulty of introducing the true Christ is skilfully overcome by making Him appear and speak in dreams, one of the most impressive features of the allegory. In the story He is called "the Man of the Valleys." The true representative of Judaism is not Caiaphas, but Moses ben-Israel, Ecclesia's father.

The people of the valleys are attacked by the plague, the peculiarity of which is that each sufferer thinks others smitten and himself free. There is a great national conclave to consider the matter, presided over by the Lord of Palatine. Plato, Confucius, Buddha, Caiaphas, give their counsel, which is self-contradictory. The final decision is to seclude the valleys and forbid them intercourse with the rest of the land. Ecclesia, instructed by a vision of Christ, secretly violates the command, and in the valleys again meets the Lord, who gives her a healing elixir. We cannot here follow the windings of the story. Moses ben-Israel tries to form an alliance with the new power represented by his daughter, and on its failure disappears by sea. Caiaphas is crushed by a falling statue. There are many striking episodes. Ecclesia has an interview with the three pillar-apostles, and corresponds with Paul, Phoebe being the letter-bearer. Phoebe's character is well worked out. Ecclesia has three wooers—Hellenicus, the captain of the guard, and the Lord of Palatine himself. The two latter play a leading part in the story; they are the agents in two of the three worldly temptations Ecclesia has to undergo. Hellenicus soon disappears from the stage. What the barbarous giant who is the agent in the first temptation represents is not so clear. Ecclesia vanquishes all three temptations and refuses all the three wooers, though she wins the Lord of Palatine to her views.

It may be asked whether it is worth while to invent a veil of allegory to tell or conceal the story of the Church. All depends on the ingenuity and judgment brought to bear on the task. No one who knows the author's other works will question the great resources of ingenuity at his command. Whether the master-romancers of our day would find fault with the construction and working out of the story, we cannot say. At all events there is plenty of constructive skill and dramatic force in the book. There is no reason why imagination should not be used to win attention for such a subject. Unity is secured by the story being thrown into autobiographic form; the complexity of many inferior stories of this kind is thus avoided. Ecclesia is the narrator throughout. The style throughout is clear and strong; there are many fine word-pictures.

J. S. BANKS.

## Geographie des alten Palästina.

Von D. F. Buhl, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig  
 Mit Plan von Jerusalem und Karte von Palästina. (Grundriss  
 der Theologischen Wissenschaften). Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr;  
 London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp.  
 x. 300. Price, M.6.60.

THIS work gives a good general description of Palestine and of its ancient geography, founded on recent exploration. It will be useful to those in Germany who have not access to the original works which it quotes; but it adds practically nothing to the information which has been generally available in England for the last ten years; nor is it an exhaustive treatise, either for Bible geography, or for that found in monumental notices, in Josephus, in the Onomasticon, or in the Byzantine writers and early pilgrims; while the curious topography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., which includes some 500 known sites in western Palestine alone, is unnoticed, as are also the Karnak lists, giving 119 towns conquered by Thothmes III. in Palestine, and the journey of the Egyptian Mohar about 1350 B.C. The author attaches also too much authority to the opinions of Eusebius, Jerome, and later writers, as to the sites of Biblical towns. The Onomasticon is very valuable as a record of fourth century topography, but the views of its author Eusebius, and of his translator Jerome, are as often wrong as they are right in respect to the Bible topography. The distances given in the Onomasticon are also not reliable, especially east of Jordan, and differ sometimes in the Greek and in the Latin. The distances given by Josephus are also sometimes self-contradictory, and his accounts exaggerated. On the other hand, less use has been made in the present work than might have been expected of the Tell el Amarna letters, and of Assyrian records; and some interesting details are thus overlooked. The sources of information used have long been known, and were all consulted by the present author in writing the Memoirs of the Palestine Survey.

The general results are correct, with certain exceptions to be noticed; and the Hebrew and Arabic names are correctly rendered on a system much simpler than that usual in Germany, though less simple than the English transliteration. The errors are few, but *Ghoramāyeh* (p. 44) should be *Ghoranīyeh*, and *Tabakah* should be *Ṭabakah* (p. 72); *Tel'at ed Dām* is really *Tal'at ed Dumm* (p. 98); and *Musām'i* is *Mujām'ia* (p. 130): these are probably



printer's errors, but *Kal'at Kurn* (p. 230) is incorrect for *Kal'at el Kurn*: and the ruin east of the Sea of Galilee is called *Khera* not *Kursi* (p. 243).

The author hardly seems to appreciate the ruggedness of Palestine, and the dry barren appearance which is so often deceptive. His account of the natural features is thus rather more picturesque than the detailed accounts in the sections of the *Memoirs* which refer to the physical characteristics. In a few cases the result is therefore inaccurate.

The criticisms which follow are not intended to depreciate the book, but, in the interests of geography, they cannot be passed over, though they refer to only a minority of questions treated. The author begins by stating that the oldest topography is that of the Tell el Amarna letters. The Karnak lists are not only much more complete, but also a century older. The formation of the Jordan valley (p. 14) by a fault in the Early Tertiary period, cannot have had any connection with the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. The sanddunes (p. 32) unfortunately are not kept back in Philistia by olive groves and orange gardens, but steadily encroach. There is no wood (p. 36) properly called near Baniâs, but a jungle with tall poplars close to the river; and *Wâdy er Samak*, east of the Sea of Galilee (p. 44), is a rugged ravine, and not a "fruitful valley." There is no account of the hot and salt springs in the Jordan Valley, such as 'Ain el Jemm'aîn and 'Ain Mâleh, nor is the *Zôr* (or Jordan bed) sufficiently distinguished from the Ghôr. The *Platanus* (p. 38) is not a tree found in the Ghôr, and there are no salt water fish to die (p. 40) in the Dead Sea.

In speaking of the basaltic lava fields (p. 42) it seems not to be recognised that these outbreaks extend right across the Plain of Esdraelon, and even to the west slopes of Carmel. The fine oak wood north of the Heshbon seems also to be overlooked; and, especially in speaking of the Shephelah, the author fails to recognise a very distinct feature to which—and not to the shore plains—the term applies, namely the foot hills, often divided by broad valleys from the mountains.

As regards the botany, apples are not grown in Palestine proper (p. 58) at the present time, and the pine of Gilead is *Pinus Carica*, not *P. Halepensis*, which is a comparatively late importation. The word *Khanzîr* (p. 60) refers to the wild boar found all over Palestine. The existence of the fallow deer (*Rîm*) on Tabor, and that of the roebuck on Carmel, discovered by the present writer in 1872, and identified (by its name *Yakhmâr*) with the Hebrew *Yakhmor*, are unnoticed. The ostrich now only survives far east in the Syrian desert, and the wild ass is also not found in Moab. The buffalo (found in Sharon) is not the Hebrew *reem*, which was



the Bos Primiginus, the buffalo being a recent addition to the Fauna.

The boundaries of the country are next treated, but the Tell el Amarna Tablets do not indicate that the term Canaan applied (p. 64) to all Palestine. The site of Baal Gad (p. 65) is probably to be found at 'Ain Jideideh, north of Hermon. The attempt of Kasteren to confine the north border of the Holy Land (Ezekiel xlvii.) to the line of the Leontes is ill-supported, and while the site of Zedad and the "Entrance of Hamath" are explained away,<sup>1</sup> the identification of Hethlon (p. 66) with 'Adlân (a corruption of the Latin *ad nonum*) and of Sibraim with *es Sanbarîyeh* (probably a corruption of the Norman name *Chamberlaine*) are alike unfortunate, as is the supposition that for Hauran we are to understand the ethnic *Hawarîn*, probably a modern name.

The Kadesh of Egyptian records (p. 69) is Kadesh on the Orontes (*Kades* s. of Emesa), not Kadesh Naphtali. The Baka of Josephus (p. 72) is now called *Bukeî'ah*, a village east of Acre, and could not be *Tubakah* ("the terrace") spelt with Teth. Although Josephus places Dor (p. 78) on the coast, the site is very uncertain, for the north border of Zebulun ran by Cabul (*Kabûl*) and Beth Dagon (*D'aûk*) so that the Shihor Libnath was probably the Belus, and not the *Zerka* or Crocodile river. The attempt to find Eshkol at a *Beit Iskâhil* N.W. of Hebron fails (p. 89), because the real name of the village is *Beit Kâhil*, the two words having only L in common. It is also very improbable that the name *Siâgh* ("Silver Smiths") represents the Greek Siagon (p. 90) and there is no reason for placing the Rock Etam at 'Arâk *Ism'aîn* ("Ishmael's Cavern").

In dealing with the topography proper, the author accepts a large proportion of the discoveries published by the present writer between 1875 and 1879, and afterwards included by him in the Survey Memoirs. Most of them were due to the recovery of names not previously known, or to be found on any map. Among these will be found—in order of occurrence in the book—such places as Choresh Ziph, Ascent of Ziz, Bethabara, Neara, Zior, Caphar Barucha, Kain, Caphar Aziz, Shamir, Debir (which, however, had been previously suggested), Mancho, Eleasa, Archi, Jeshanah (also suggested by M. Clermont Ganneau), Borkeos, Ailon, Hazor of Galilee, City of Salt, Eder, Bethelia, Lachish, Eshtaol, Sorek, Rakkon, Bezek, Rabbith, Kedesh of Issachar, Castrum Samaritorum, Beth Shalisha, Idalah, Jabneel of Naphtali, Osha, Hali; and East of Jordan, Tob, Samega, and the survival of Tyrus in *Wâdy Sir*, the three latter

<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel xlvii. 15-17 should be compared with Numbers xxxiv. 7-11, in which Riblah in Syria is noticed as on the border, with Zedad and the "entering into Hamath"; Riblah is well known and north of Baalbek.

being discovered in 1881. This is a satisfactory confirmation, though Professor Buhl is apparently, in each of these cases, unaware of the discoverer's name, although the earliest authority quoted is the Survey Memoir. A good many others, out of 160 newly identified sites, might have been added, in cases where the evidence is quite as strong as for those mentioned.

Exception must be taken to some other suggestions which are improbable, philologically or geographically. Thus Seir (p. 91), with its guttural, cannot be identified with *Saris* (the Sores of LXX.), but is probably *Bâtn es Saghîr*. The objection to Beth Hadudu at *Hadeidûn* (p. 99) is not stated, but the direction and distance from Jerusalem confirm this interesting site for the "Mountain of the Scape Goat." Salmon at *Sheikh Selmân el Fârsi* (a Moslem name) is very doubtful (p. 100), and Timnath Heres is much more probably *Kefr Hâris* than *Tîbneh*. Gibeah of Saul (p. 101) should not be placed at *Tell el Fûl*, which is a tower, and not the site of an ancient city; nor can Nephtoah be represented by *Lifta*, the site being inapplicable, and more proper for Eleph of Benjamin. Jacob's Well (p. 102) is not a cistern, but a spring well of great depth. Ibleam is more probably *Yebla* than *Bîr Bel'ameh*, which is not a town site. En Harod (p. 106) seems, according to the LXX., to have been near Endor, and not at *'Ain Jâlâd*; and Jiphtahel (p. 109) has no connection with the name *Jefât*, nor is the position suitable. The land Nukhasse (now read Markhasse) was in the north of Syria, near Tunep, and probably is represented by *Mer'ash*. The name Aulon for the Jordan Valley (p. 112) is stated by Jerome to have been Hebrew (Elon) and not Greek. How *'Ain Tâbgha* can be supposed (p. 114) to be the "Fountain of Capernaum," watering the plain of Gennesaret, it is difficult to understand, seeing that it is divided thence by a rocky ridge, and never was even diverted to the plain (which has plenty of springs) through any aqueduct. This spring probably represents the Migdol Tseboia of the Talmud.

Professor Buhl asserts that it is certain that the "City of David" lay on the narrow shelving Ophel spur (p. 133), but he does not treat any of the objections raised against this view. The theory rests on one expression, "West of the City of David" (2 Chronicles xxxii. 30) which Keil and other Hebraists regard as incorrect, the natural translation being, "westwards to the City of David." The discovery of a fine stairway west of the Tyropœon Valley, just where the "Stairs from the City of David" (Nehemiah iii. 15, xii. 37) would be expected on the more generally accepted hypothesis, is too recent to have been noticed by Professor Buhl; but the objection to his theory is that the names Sion, City of David, Ophel, Akra, Millo and Jebus are all crowded into

an area of five or ten acres, and the rest of the hills included (even by Doctor Buhl's map) in Nehemiah's Jerusalem, are left unnamed. He supposes Jerusalem in David's time to have been smaller than an ordinary Palestine hamlet of to-day—yet it was a royal city in the 15th century B.C., according to the Tell el Amarna letters. Josephus states that the walls of the Upper City were built by David, and Manasseh's wall on Ophel was "outside the City of David." Ancient Jerusalem occupied 200 acres, and the Ophel spur appears to have been the latest part included by the Hebrew kings. The plan given by Professor Buhl shews walls of which we have no ancient account, and accepts as ancient a wall outside Siloam which is of Byzantine masonry (erected by Eudoxia, 450 A.D.), whereas in 70 A.D. the pool was outside the wall. Several recent results of excavation also go against his proposals, and a wall in the Tyropœon valley is impossible from an engineer's point of view. The second wall is also shewn on the slope of the hill, where a rock some forty feet higher would have existed immediately outside, at the traditional Calvary. This, however, is due to a prepossession in favour of tradition; it contradicts the description of Josephus, as does the proposed line of the third wall, while no notice is taken of the ancient ramparts discovered by Robinson, N.W. of the present city. The position of the Valley Gate is shewn too far south, and that of the Gate of Ephraim is purely arbitrary, and the wall in which it is shewn very probably was built by the Hasmoneans in the second century B.C. Space will not allow of more detailed discussion of the theory, but the views of Robinson have continually been reinforced by the results of exploration.

Turning to other points there is no reason to suppose that Beth Haccerem was at Herodium (p. 157), and *Susieh* in the mountains does not suit Hazar Susim (p. 163). The opinion of Eusebius as to Kirjath Jearim (p. 166) has no authority; *Kuriet el 'Anab* is probably Kirjath of Benjamin, it is too far north to suit the description of Kirjath Jearim, whereas *'Erma* stands in the required position. There is no reason to distinguish Gibeah of the Elohim, where Saul's family lived, from Gibeah of Saul (*Jeb'a*), nor any sound reason why its name should be changed to Ramallah (p. 173), a name as old at least as the twelfth century A.D. Ataroth Adar (p. 172) is a place very particularly described as near Beth Horon, just where *Ed Dârieh* now stands; *'Attâra* is much too far east. The "Valley of Thorns" was near Michmash (now *Wâdy es Şuweinit*, "Valley of the little thorn tree") and the proposed identification is unsuitable. It is also very improbable that Laish should be the modern *el 'Aisawiyyeh*, with a guttural, (p. 175) and Chozeba should be sought, not at the monastery of St John Chose-

both, but at *Kuweiziba* near Halhul (p. 176). It is not certain that Corea was in the Jordan valley (p. 181) and *Kurawa* suits best for Archelais. If *Tell el Milh* be the City of Salt, it cannot also be Moladah (p. 183), nor can Telam be compared with the name of a modern Arab tribe (p. 183). The name *Sebeita* has not a letter in common with Zephath, which is probably *es Sufa*, further east (p. 184). Anthedon is also an uncertain site (p. 190), and Belzedek cannot be compared with *Wady es Sindrik* ("Valley of the box"), which is a modern name, connected with the finding of a coffin.

The identification of Gimti (mentioned on monuments) with Gath is very doubtful. It is quite as probably Gimzo (*Jimzu*); and Gath is called *Giti Rimûna* in the Tell el Amarna letters (p. 196). Nob and Nebo were distinct places, the latter probably at *Nûba*, N.-W. of Hebron (p. 198). Beth hag Gan (p. 202) is probably *Beit Jenn*, east of Tabor, and not Jenin, and there is no evident connection between Micmethah and *Kefr Beita*. Tirzah and *Tallûza* are names not having a letter in common (p. 203), nor is *Teidsir* likely to be a corruption of Asher. Anaharath (p. 204) has no connection with *'Arrâneh*, and has long been known at *en N'atrah*. Gitta is more probably *Jett* than *Kuriet Jit* (p. 207), and Pirathon *Fer'on* rather than *Fer'ata*. There is no evidence that Megiddo was at *Lejjûn*, and the site *Mujedd'a*, where the name survives, answers better for some of the notices of this city. The name Aphek, as given by Eusebius, is only taken from the Old Testament (p. 213), and the site of this "stream" (as the word means) may have been at Shunem; but Aphek of the Syrian wars was *Fik*, east of the Sea of Galilee. Nahalol (p. 215) is probably *'Ain Mâhil*, and not *M'atul*; and *Wady el Melek* does not suit in position for Alammelech. Beth Shittah (p. 217) was found by Vandeveld before Guerin. The name Asochis (p. 220) probably survives in *Jebel es Sih*. The connection of Bersabe and *Abu Shebâ* (p. 222) is highly doubtful; and *Tell Hâm*, though the Capernaum of Christian tradition, is probably the Caphar Ahim of the Talmud (p. 224). The name *Musheirfeh* is not a likely corruption for Misrephoth Maim (p. 229), which has long been placed at *Sarafend*. The suggestion that *Beit Ahûn* represents an ancient Beth-Shemesh is equally perilous (p. 233), and Kadesh Naphtali is not noticed in the Tell el Amarna letters (p. 235). Kydissos is very probably *Kudeisa*, not *Kedes* (p. 236). Achshaph, near Accho, cannot be *el Kesâf*, but is probably *el Yâsîf*.

East of Jordan there is no reason to distinguish Ashtoreth from Ashtaroth Karnaim, or, to place the latter at *Neby Eyûb* (p. 248). Dathema (or Dametha) is much more probably *Dâmeh* than *'Atamân* (a Turkish word). Tishbe at *Istib* is unlikely (p. 257), and *Mahne* is

much too far north for Mahanaim, which is more probably *Mukhma*, south of the Jabbok. Ramoth Gilead is also better placed at *Reimûn* (p. 262), and Jazer could not be as far north as *Wady Sâr*. The site of Zoar at *Tell esh Shaghâr* fulfils all requisites, and Christian tradition rightly understood points to the same position (p. 271). The Ascent of Luhith seems finally to be best placed at *Tal'at el Heith*. C. R. CONDER.

**Cosmic Ethics ; or, The Mathematical Theory of Evolution, showing the full Import of the Doctrine of the Mean, and containing the Principia of the Science of Proportion.**

By *W. Cave Thomas, F.S.S.* London : *Smith, Elder & Co.*  
8vo, pp. 296. Price, 10s. 6d.

**The Early Church and the Roman Claim.**

By *Professor Rentoul, M.A., D.D.* Melbourne : *Melville Mullen & Slade.* Fourth Edition, pp. 220.

**An Ethical Movement : a Volume of Lectures.**

By *W. L. Sheldon, Lecturer of the Ethical Society of St Louis.* London : *Macmillan & Co., Ltd.* Crown 8vo, pp. 349. Price, 5s. net.

**Outlines of Logic and Metaphysics.**

By *Johann Eduard Erdmann, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle.* Translated from the Fourth (revised) Edition, with prefatory Essay by *B. C. Burt, Ph.D.* London : *Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited.* Crown 8vo, pp. xv. 253. Price, 6s.

MR THOMAS has written an elaborate book, and has evidently spent an enormous amount of time in its preparation. He is quite persuaded that he has not laboured in vain. Again and again he tells us of the importance of his work, and invites all men to enter into his labours, and help to complete his gigantic task. We have read his book with due care, and have endeavoured to weigh his arguments, and we have been forced to take an estimate of the worth of it widely different from that of the author. There is much in



the book worthy of praise, there is evidence of wide reading, and of much reflection, and, on the whole, there is a good deal of instruction to be obtained from the perusal of it. But the interest of the book lies apart from its main issue. The great discovery he thinks he has made is the discovery that the form of knowledge is quantitative, and that the doctrine of the mean is the main principle both of knowledge and of reality. The doctrine of the mean is of the utmost importance, as all students of Aristotle have recognised, and for certain kinds of knowledge its function is well understood. But its usefulness and applicability are limited to what can be measured; in a word, it belongs to the category of quantity. Mr Thomas knows this well; hence his attempt to make out that the form of knowledge is quantitative. We have tried to understand his attempt to prove his proposition, and we have failed. It is simply an attempt to remove the category of quality altogether, and is another of the many attempts to find a universal category which contains all other categories, and from which they can be deduced. As opposed to the assertion that the form of knowledge is quantitative, we may oppose the statement that the form of knowledge, whatever it may be, is not quantitative.

It would lead us too far afield were we to examine the various illustrations of his thesis which he has so abundantly set forth. We may say that, when he is dealing with the sciences which have for their object things that can be measured, he does find many illustrations of his principle, though even here his principle is by far too absolutely stated. He takes no account of the fact that there are cumulative effects in nature to which the doctrine of the mean does not apply. We know, for instance, that the effect of the tides is to change the length of the day, and that this effect is cumulative. Here is a departure from the mean state which is not periodically compensated. This is sufficient to show that his principle is not universal. It seems to us that his book is a failure, inasmuch as he is striving to make a category which is itself incomplete and relative, do the work of a category which is universal and absolute.

The occasion of Dr Rentoul's lectures is a controversy which arose in Australia regarding the Roman claims. The controversy continually crops up wherever Rome obtains a footing, and our Australian friends have to take their share in the battle. The Roman champion is Archbishop Carr, and part of the book before us is taken up with a correspondence between him and Dr Rentoul. On this part we need not speak. But the main part of these lectures is of permanent value. These lectures are not composed by a man who depends on second-hand learning, to be obtained by

a hasty perusal of manuals of church history. Dr Rentoul is at home in the history of the early Church and its literature, and is evidently acquainted with the labours of such men as Lightfoot and Hatch in our own country, and of Zahn, Harnack, Lipsius, and others in Germany. He never gives us the impression that he is a man who has read to get up a case, rather he found all his needed weapons close at hand when the summons to battle came. He did not seek the fight; the call came, and he was found ready. The four lectures are thus called: "The Roman Claim and Method—Peter and the Rock"; "The Roman Legend of Peter—The Question and Modern Scholarship—Was Peter Bishop of Rome?" "Rise of a Sacerdotal Order in the Christian Ministry"; and "Evolution of the Papacy: Its Early Stages." We might have much to say of the rare learning, of the easy mastery of the whole subject, of the brilliant and incisive style, and of the absolute fairness with which the controversy is conducted, were there space at our disposal. As it is, we can only say that in brief compass we have here a masterly presentation of the essentials of the Protestant argument, and we are rejoiced to find that in Australia there are men of the culture and the calibre of Professor Rentoul.

Mr Sheldon's course of lectures represents his teaching to the Ethical Society of St Louis. In other cities similar courses have been given, notably in New York, by Dr Adler, who may be called the founder of the new ethical movement. The movement is one of great interest. It embodies the earnest attempt of serious men who have ceased to find satisfaction in the formulated creed of Christendom, and who cling with ardent devotion to the highest ethical ideal they know, and seek to enable their fellow-men to realise it. As set forth in the volume before us, the new movement is of opinion that religion in the past has laid too much stress on the future life, and has rather neglected the present, with its duties, privileges, and responsibilities. Religious teaching has not been exerting its true influence on the public mind, because it could not adequately apply itself to the actual daily affairs of human life. Whether, by throwing the stress on moral issues, we may be able to restore the right hold for religion, is the problem to be solved by a true ethical movement.

We are sure we wish all success to a movement that promises to restore the right hold for religion, but we are full of doubt as to the adequacy and sufficiency of the present movement. We question whether Ethics can give the true moral dynamic in virtue of which a bad man can become good, or a selfish man unselfish. How for each of us to become better men in a better human society is

indeed a pressing practical problem, but we are persuaded that it can never be accomplished on the lines sketched by our author.

We have read the book with intense interest. It is beautifully written, clear and felicitous in style, lucid in thought, and the meaning of it is easily grasped. The tone of it, too, is very fine. There is a sympathetic attempt to put himself in the place of those who still cling to the creed of Christendom, and to appreciate the strength of their position. We think the author has failed to understand the force of the evidence in behalf of Christianity as a spiritual religion, with divine sanctions, and with the vast historic evidence of its ethical validity.

The failure is even more conspicuous when the writer sets himself to inquire in how many senses men can use the word "God." It may be safely said that the great name will lose its wonted power when men are agreed to think with our author of God as substance and as power, and no longer of Him as personal. The very strength of religion as a power that makes for righteousness depends on the fact that men believe they can enter into fellowship with Him who made and upholds the universe, can speak to Him, and hear Him speak to them. Ethics may remain after we have lost the thought of God as a Person, but it will be an ethic with other aims and other sanctions.

The chapter on the "Ethical" Christ we have found to be even less satisfactory. The chapter is the record of an attempt to reduce Christ to the level of other men. It calmly assumes that the gracious character we find in the Gospels and in the faith of the Church is partly the creation of the human heart and imagination. It somewhat condescendingly acknowledges that there are elements worthy of high commendation in the ethical ideal realised in Christ, but it assumes that humanity has outgrown that ideal. Suited to the earlier ages, the Christ ideal must now, it seems, yield to something stronger. "In the earlier centuries, when the Christ-picture was taking shape, the ideal aspect most called for was passive endurance, heroic submissiveness, gentle humility. It was the meek and lowly of heart who could be truly great men and women of those times; for there was no field or no sphere for the aggressive virtues. The bold, determined, energetic, pushing will, pushing ahead to change the course of events and to alter the trend of history, would have had little opportunity to display itself if, at the same time, it had been united with the spirit of self-denial or self-surrender. The 'Christ' character of that age knew how to endure and to submit. This is one side of the perfect ideal, and, as such, it will hold its exalted place through all ages to come."

We have given the quotation in order to set forth the author's

point of view. On the quotation, and on the chapter from which we take it, we venture to make the remark that the author has read his New Testament and the History of Christendom to little purpose. For in the character of Christ there is something more than meekness, submissiveness, and humility. Claims of the most enormous magnitude on the loyalty and submissiveness of men to Him are made on His behalf, and statements regarding Him and His worth are made which are distinctly aggressive and exclusive. He is meek and lowly in heart, but in the same breath He says, come unto Me. To speak of Christianity as lacking in aggressive energy is to say the thing which is not. Aggressiveness is its characteristic note. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel" is the Master's command, and obedience to it demands "the aggressive energy, the determined will, and the venturesome mind," which our author regards as wanting altogether in Christianity.

A compact, clear and intelligible account of the Hegelian logic was a great desideratum. The work of the master himself, though disclosing its secret to severe and prolonged study, has appeared in such an imperfect form, that it places needless difficulties in the way of a student. Notwithstanding the vast labours of Professor Wallace, and the strenuous endeavours of a hundred other expositors, the secret of Hegel is not yet an open secret to British students. Next to an exposition of Hegelian logic, from a British pen, which has so assimilated it as to be able to set it forth as a thoroughly native product, is a book like Professor Erdmann's, in which a veteran teacher uses his trained skill, and the experience won through the actual training of many generations of students, in order to simplify, state, and set forth in perspicuous terms, his understanding of the view of his master. The prefatory essay of Dr Burt is also helpful. He is at home in the Hegelian system, and speaks the dialect like a native. It does take a little time to accustom ourselves to the tone, atmosphere, phraseology, and attitude of the system. We have been accustomed to look at terms, concepts, categories as fixed, rigid, unchangeable, existing side by side in mere otherness, that it is difficult for us to look at them as always in a process of evolution, through which experience passes, and must pass, on its way to completeness. "The mind," says Dr Burt, "in the activities of sensible perception, sensuous imagination and conception, feels impelled by a necessity which, while in these stages of its working, it does not yet understand, to move onward to the stage of thought as such in which, as at home with its essential self, it comfortably rests. In fact, the recognised lower stages are in themselves self-contradictory and incom-

plete. The world of perception is too much a sphere of mere multiplicity, mere otherness ; that of abstract understanding, or understanding which ignores the individual for the sake of a fancied universal, has a unity that is constrained and repulsive to the mind. What is demanded is that sense and abstract understanding be harmonised in a certain concrete unity, that the real and the (so-called) ideal phenomena and law, object and subject, be seen, or at least distinctly felt, as at bottom one and the same fact."

This book is the attempt to show the unity of experience, and to unfold the process by which that which is implicit is made explicit, and what is involved in every conscious experience may come into clear consciousness. It is a working out of categories, beginning with the lowest, simplest, most abstract form of thought, and proceeding by a gradual development to the highest, most complex, most concrete, thereby professing to discover, or rather to evolve, the system of pure forms of thought or the categories. In the first part the author deals with categories of immediacy, quality, quantity, mode ; in the second part with categories of mediation, essence as such, phenomenon, actuality ; and in the third part with categories of freedom, subjectivity, objectivity, idea. The threefold process goes on, and each category subdivides itself into three, in the usual Hegelian manner. The book is full of interest, and many rich vistas are opened up as we advance. We cannot read the book without having our thoughts of the unity of the universe in the midst of its infinite complexity being greatly enriched, and in particular our conviction is deepened that we are in a rational universe. Whether the rationality of the universe is of this particular form is another question, too large to be discussed here, but every thoughtful student will be grateful for the opportunity of studying the system as set forth in this book.

JAMES IVERACH.

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**Memoir of John Veitch, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow.**

*By Mary R. L. Bryce. Edinburgh and London : Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. x. 197. Price, 7s. 6d.*

THE sad associations of this memoir, notwithstanding the charming impression left upon those who were privileged to see Mrs Bryce's work in manuscript, are enhanced by the printed book, with its excellently executed and well chosen illustrations.

The task undertaken by Professor Veitch's niece was no easy



one, but the spirit of a labour of love has enabled her to surmount all difficulties, if not with ease, certainly with an eminently happy valiancy. Materials were scant and scattered; and Mr Veitch himself so courted the nature lover's solitude, and cared so little for publicity, that the effort requisite to rendering his quiet career of interest to a large circle of readers would have entirely failed of effect had this aim been consciously pursued. But he was peculiarly a type, and that kind of type, moreover, which—such are life's paradoxes—is best presented by an intimate delineation of individual characteristics. To limn them successfully an unusual combination of qualities must be assembled. A mere record, however flowing, of successive events will not suffice; it might, indeed, be worse than useless. Rather knowledge of the subject—that close acquaintance with every subtle turn of his temperament—is requisite. So, too, is the sympathetic insight that joys in his joys, sorrows in his griefs or disappointments, rises and falls in unison with his mood as he looks out upon the beauties of nature, almost awe-stricken by their wealth, or muses on the hidden mysteries, so partially disclosed here, of our human destiny. Yet, even given all this, the touch with which Mrs Bryce has enveloped her characterisation in a kind of atmospheric halo could not be wholly explained: for she conveys the elements incident to her study at once with the vividness of the impressionist, and with the close faithfulness of the realist. She is an artist no less than a trusted and affectionate friend.

It is not for me to say now all that I feel—even were suitable expression possible—of the portrait she has given of one who was well known to many who will see these pages. But the more it is pondered by those who knew Professor Veitch intimately, the truer, the more adequate, does it seem. And if this be so for us who were privileged to be of the inner circle of Mr Veitch's acquaintance, and who are fully alive alike to the advantages Mrs Bryce enjoyed, and to the difficulties under which she laboured, others can afford to be more than satisfied. Everyone who desires to learn what the highest type of man reared in the Scottish Universities during the Victorian era was, ought to procure this volume. It may very well be that, under the new conditions that every age imposes afresh upon institutions, we may not look upon its like again. What it was, what it has implied in the life of the northern nation, what it has done for the progress and the wise conservation of educational advantages, what it has wrought for the defence of all righteousness, is here set down, not in a dull tale, but in a living picture of a personality both representative and unique.

For some of us, as Mrs Bryce says with a truth that touches us only too deeply, "he is a daily blank." To some he "has become a mere name." No person who reads this *Memoir* can possibly

be numbered with these last; and no Scot who is proud of his country's institutions, and of the men who, reared on hardiness, have contributed to rendering their land honoured and even envied the world over, can afford to neglect this beautiful tribute to a character which only Scotland could have cradled and nurtured to perfection.

R. M. WENLEY.

**Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Ethik, der Staatswissenschaft, der Aesthetik und der Theologie.**

*Von Prof. Ludwig Strümpell. Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1895. 8vo, 6 Hefte, pp. iii. 277. Price, M.4.*

**Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Metaphysik, Psychologie und Religionsphilosophie seit Leibniz.**

*Von L. Strümpell. 1896. 4 Hefte, pp. vi. 360. Price, M.5.25.*

ALREADY in his eighty-fourth year, this venerable Honorary Professor of the University of Leipzig has set himself to gather together and classify the scattered writings of a lifetime. Those relating to Educational subjects appeared some time ago, and the advertisement pages of the present publication promise a similar re-issue of articles relating to the department of Applied Logic, and of others dealing with the History of Metaphysics, Psychology and Philosophy of Religion from the time of Kant. The chief previous work of the author was his "Introduction to Philosophy from the standpoint of the History of Philosophy" (1886), a subject on which he had then lectured for nearly forty years. His object in some of the dissertations now re-published is to clear up some points which had been misunderstood in the "Introduction," and especially to "define, for the benefit of the future historian of Philosophy," the author's "relation to the Philosophy of Herbart" (Preface, p. ii.) whose standpoint, rather than that of Kant or the Speculative School, he in general adopts. The most valuable of the articles before us appear to us to be those dealing with Ethics. The most elaborate and complete is that upon the *Moral Ideas*, which occupies the whole of the third "Heft." In this, after an introductory section, the writer treats, in a thoughtful and suggestive way, of the ideas of Right or Justice, of Recompense or Retribution, of Benevolence or Love to man, of Unlimited Progress towards Perfection, and of Moral Freedom. The articles on *Æsthetics* are two, both in the sixth number. They deal (1) with the "Difference between the sensible, the intellectual, and the æsthetic interest and pleasure," and (2) with

the question, "What prevents the development of *Æsthetics* into a Science?" As might be expected, the articles are of very various value; the insertion of the first of all, for example—a very slight, but emphatic protest against Heine's misrepresentation of German Philosophy in an article written for French consumption in 1835—being justified on grounds which seem more obvious to the author than to us. Theology is represented only by the closing article on "The false connection established between Philosophy, Theology, and Church," the outcome of which is that Theology, so far as historical and traditional, is rightly connected with the Church; so far as speculative and free, with Philosophy; but that between Philosophy and the Church there can, under no conditions, be any union or relation.

Since the above was in type, four parts, composing another volume, of Professor Strümpell's *Abhandlungen*, have come to hand. Of these, the first is occupied with a discussion of Leibniz, and the principal writings and doctrines of that renowned philosopher, with whom Strümpell considers that German philosophy properly begins, the usual practice of going back to Descartes and Spinoza being in his view unnecessary. The second part reprints the *Thesis* on the presentation of which the author graduated as Doctor of Philosophy at Königsberg, so far back as 1833. A second dissertation in the same part deals further with the metaphysics of Herbart, whose name also dominates the papers given in the third part, which all turn upon a discussion of the principle of causality. The fourth part is occupied with three discussions of problems in religious philosophy—namely, "The grounds of belief in the Existence of God," "The questions concerning the Creation, Maintenance, and Government of the world, and Providence," and "God in relation to the Categories of the Finite and Infinite." As in the former volume, the treatises thus collected together are of varying value, but some of them exhibit remarkable speculative power, together with clear and suggestive statement of the problems concerned, if the solutions offered are not always perfectly satisfactory. We may refer to the paper on *Creation and Providence* as a good example of the best qualities of the author.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

**Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung für die Erlösung.  
Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung.**

*Von Alfred Seeberg, Professor der Theologie in Dorpat. Leipzig:  
A. Deichert, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Nor-  
gate. 8vo, pp. 384. Price, M.5.50.*

ONLY good can come of such attempts at a careful and exhaustive study of the New Testament teaching on the redemptive aspects of our Lord's death as we have in this fresh and scholarly volume. The tendency has too readily been yielded to on the part of many to obliterate the Atonement as an article of the Christian creed, at least in the sense of an expiatory work which is the objective ground of the removal of the sinner's guilt and condemnation, and of his re-admission into the fellowship of God. So engrained is this idea into the texture of the Scriptures, Old and New, that it requires considerable boldness and ingenuity, either to show that it is not there, or to make it at best a crude, early phase of conception which advancing insight into the Gospel compels us to discard. Prof. Seeberg recognises the difficulties of the subject, and the inadequacy of older theories, but cannot satisfy himself that the newer theories are much better, and is least of all content that the subject should be simply ignored. He has not been able to discover that the manifold attempts of the newer theology have hitherto had any determining influence on the practical preaching of the Gospel, and he maintains that however mistaken the theory of Anselm and the old dogmaticians of a *satisfactio vicaria* may have been, just as little does the revived adoption by Ritschl and others of the Abelard type of Atonement doctrine answer to the original form of Christian teaching. He feels himself impelled, therefore, to undertake a re-examination of the subject for himself, not from a dogmatic, but from a biblico-theological point of view.

It is easy to foresee that an investigation of this kind, though cordially to be welcomed, is only likely to result in adding one theory more to the number—a theory which seems to the author himself to embody the pure results of exegetical study, but which may appear to others to be marked by a good many subjective prepossessions. This, we take it, is really the case here in what is nevertheless a very able and suggestive treatment of the New Testament doctrine of the death of Christ. The work is methodically conceived, commencing—apparently because the author finds there the high-priestly idea, on which he lays peculiar stress—with the Epistle to the Hebrews, thence proceeding to the Johannine writings, thence to the Pauline Epistles, thence to

Peter, thence to the speeches in the Acts, finally to the Synoptics. At the close of each section there is a summary of results, and a general summation at the end of the volume. The author's positions on the subject of the sources are marked by considerable individuality; so, likewise, is his exegesis. He will recognise no development of view, so far as this question is concerned, in the writings of Paul, Peter, and John, and labours at length to show that there is perfect agreement—real and not forced—between John's Gospel and Epistles, and the Apocalypse. On the other hand, he will not allow that the Synoptic Gospels furnish us with the means of saying what was Christ's own teaching on His death. We have but reports from Christ's disciples, respecting which we can never be sure whether they literally and faithfully preserve Christ's words or not. This somewhat radical attitude to the Gospels is his reason for beginning with the Apostolic age.

We can but glance at the manner in which the author builds up his theory, and at its main results. There is much in his argument which is well deserving of attention. He contends for the essential unity of the Apostolic doctrine. From the beginning, the Apostolic preaching connects salvation with Christ's death and resurrection. Already, before the conversion of Paul, it was usual to comprehend the sum of Christianity in these two facts. Even as to the nature of this connection—the *how* as contrasted with the *fact* of redemption by Christ's death, he contends that "the fundamental view in the Epistles is one and the same, and is again the same as meets us in the Gospels." The death of Christ is in the first instance a means of transition to His glory, but it has also atoning power—is indispensable in view of the holiness of God as a condition of the reception of the sinner to his fellowship. Here comes the kernel of the matter, and we are bound to say that with all his elaborate and oft-repeated explanations the author does not make his meaning clear. He rejects as unscriptural the conception of a substitutionary endurance of penalty. He looks with equal dislike on the idea of Christ's death as answering to the idea of the Old Testament sacrifice, holding—surely mistakenly—that even in the Epistle to the Hebrews this is a secondary and unessential idea. What then is its import? One thing is that in the death of Christ we are made to feel the awful evil and curse-deserving character of sin. But further, Christ who, for the redemption of men from sin and guilt, out of love permitted himself to undergo the uttermost evil that could come upon the sinless, calls the sinner into fellowship with himself that he may obtain forgiveness of his sins. In this intimate fellowship of life "Christ and the sinner now form a unity, which has for its result that Christ's act comes to stand for that of the sinner. The



Christian, therefore, counts before God for one who for the expiation of his sins has undergone that evil, the endurance of which the holy God makes the condition of his reception into fellowship." In reply to the pertinent question—"But how can God accept the Christian as one who has suffered death for the atonement of his sins when he actually has not suffered?" The answer is that he *has* suffered, not indeed really, but in volition, for he has assented to this judgment of God (in death) upon his sin—with much more of the same kind. In Christ ideally all humanity has died, but the actual salvation depends upon the glorification of Christ, through which men are brought into living fellowship with the crucified and exalted One. Despite of it all, it remains obscure *why* this surrender of Christ to the uttermost evil of death is a necessity of forgiveness—otherwise than in its moral effects; in what way the sinner can see in it a judgment of God upon his sin which forms a ground for its forgiveness; and how an expiatory virtue can be attributed to it unless by importing back those ideas of substitution or representation in suffering which we thought had been rejected. To do justice to Prof. Seeberg's views—especially in their exegetical relations—a much fuller treatment would be necessary, but this bare sketch may indicate at least the sort of lines on which his book proceeds. It will probably not be accepted as the last word upon the subject either.

JAMES ORR.

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### **The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.**

*The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, critical edition of the Hebrew text arranged in chronological order with notes by C. H. Cornill, D.D., Professor of the University of Königsberg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 80. Price, 5s. net.*

THE selection of Cornill, one of the younger Old Testament scholars of Germany, for the difficult task of preparing and editing a critical text of Jeremiah was an eminently wise choice. The learning and skill which he exhibited in his memorable critical edition of Ezekiel—the elaborate prolegomena of 170 pages which he wrote to that work, and the complete mastery there exhibited of critical method and materials in dealing with the maze of details with which such studies confronted him, will be recalled by all biblical students who examined that remarkable book produced by the young Marburg Professor Extraordinarius. True, his treatment of the text of Ezekiel was too drastic and sometimes arbitrary to obtain hearty

commendation from cautious scholars; yet it was recognised that the work was an exceedingly valuable contribution to the problem of reconstructing the text of the exilian prophet. Obviously Professor Cornill, the textual critic of Ezekiel, who had contributed articles of much suggestive stimulus on the critical problems of Isaiah, was the right man to edit and reconstruct, and if possible rearrange, the text of Jeremiah, so complex in its elements and in many passages damaged by corruptions.

It is hardly necessary to say that there can be no finality in the solution of this most difficult problem. In the first place we have to deal with divergent traditions both of text and arrangement in LXX and Massora, which in the case of the oracles of this prophet stand further apart and present greater perplexities to the scholar than in any other department of Old Testament literature. In the second place it has long been recognised that the text of Jeremiah has been subjected to redactional processes, and the greatest literary discrimination and sobriety of judgment combined with linguistic knowledge are requisite in order to disentangle the genuine utterances of Jeremiah from the later Deutero-Isaianic and other texture with which it has been interwoven; and when all that is possible to human acumen and scholarship has been done, one can only say: *periculosæ plenum opus aleæ!* So easy is it (changing the metaphor) to cast away good wheat with chaff and to let theories of Jeremiah's theology and the limitations we impose upon his thought and style govern unduly the sifting process.

The main question to be settled at the outset, as Stade has clearly indicated in his long and instructive note (*Gesch. der V.*, I. p. 646, footnote), is suggested in Jeremiah xxxvi. According to this narrative, before the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign the prophet's discourses were only orally delivered. But in this year he dictated to Baruch the prophecies which he had uttered since the thirteenth year of Josiah. This roll was read in the temple before the people during the extraordinary fast that was being held at that time and subsequently before the king in his winter-palace, when the leaves of the roll were cast into the flames with the king's approval, in spite of all remonstrances. Afterwards Jeremiah dictated anew to Baruch the prophecies which stood upon this roll and added other oracles. The aim of the critic is to restore, if possible, the contents of this roll. We may premise that it only contained a summary of the prophetic discourses, since the manuscript-roll was read over at least three times in a single day. Accordingly, in Cornill's present treatise the first thirteen pages of his reconstructed text are an attempt to reproduce this "Urrolle" or original roll (מִנְהָלָה) in its integrity, purified of all interpolations, which are relegated to footnotes. Thus Jerem. i. 3 is separated as an interpolation owing

to its mention of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. It is, however, quite reasonable to regard all three verses as redactional headings, since they partake of the character of similar superscriptions to oracles in other prophetic books. The order of the Massoretic text (which here coincides with the LXX) is then followed in chapters i.-vi., with the exception of such interpolations, among others, as iv. i. 2 and 10, which Cornill, in our opinion unnecessarily, relegates to the foot of the page, and also of the important sections iii. 6-18 which, in the words of the author's introduction, "interrupts the connection between verses 5 and 19," and is therefore accorded a separate position among Jeremiah's earlier oracles, viz., after chapter vi. It is quite true that iv. i. 2 comes in somewhat abruptly. Nevertheless they supplement and are not a mere amplification of chapter iii. 22<sup>a</sup>. Though the LXX give us the third person instead of the second, and though the style is abrupt and the text not easily capable of restoration, that is no sufficient reason for rejecting the passage. As to verse 10 we would adopt Ewald's suggestion and read *וַיֹּאמֶר* "So that one says: Ah! my Lord God, surely thou hast deceived this people." This verse then forms a natural sequence to the previous one which describes the consternation of prince, priest and prophet at the manifestations of Divine wrath. In the course of this review we cannot do more than note down a few of the numerous details in which our author's treatment of the Hebrew text awakens dissent. Much as we admire the learning and insight displayed in this book, and the critical skill with which difficult textual problems are attacked, it is always necessary to follow Cornill's work, pen in hand, and here and there to mark his too copious list of interpolations, reserved to the foot of the page in smaller type, with notes of interrogation.

We proceed to indicate the remaining contents of the "Urrolle" in the chronological order which Professor Cornill gives to them, with occasional criticisms. After chapter iii. 6-16 succeed the following chapters in the order here mentioned: chapter xi.-xii. 6; xviii.; vii.-ix. 21 [verses 22-25 are placed separately (p. 26) among the genuine utterances of Jeremiah, which, as Cornill expresses it in his quaint Hebrew rubric, "have been torn from their place by a fault of the scribes"]; x. 17-24 [x. 1-16 against idolatry being regarded by Cornill with most critics as "unecht"]. Next we have the discourse against Judah, chapter xxv., followed, as in LXX, by the prophecies against foreign nations. The order, however, in Cornill's reconstructed text differs of course considerably from that followed in the LXX. On the difficult chapter xxv., the editor, as we might expect from the language of his "Introduction" (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 163), is largely dominated by the opinions of Schwally expressed in his well-known article on Jeremiah xxv.,

xlvi.-li. in ZATW, 1888. I must confess to considerable misgiving in following this leadership. Schwally's services to Old Testament science are unquestionably solid. To me his "Life after Death" is an indispensable treatise, and his shrewdness and learning in the aforesaid article are undeniable. But the argument he employs against the genuineness of xxv. 30, 31, "In diesen Versen befremdet dass die Wohnung Jahves in den Himmel verlegt wird" (p. 185 foll.), involves a sweeping theory of O.T. ideas respecting Jahveh which I cannot accept. So far from regarding the localisation of Jahveh in heaven as merely exilian and post-exilian, I believe that such passages as 1 Kings xxii. 19 which bears the obvious impress of pre-exilian origin as well as Ps. xviii. 7-18 (admitted by Cheyne to be pre-exilian), and many other testimonies<sup>1</sup> prove that Jahveh, like the Aramaic Hadad and the Assyro-Babylonian Ramman, was associated with the atmosphere rather than with the land in the most primitive religious ideas of Israel. Jahveh differs in this important respect from the primitive Semitic Baal, with whom he subsequently became associated through Canaanite influence; for Baal means the lord or patron whose power extends over certain fertile spots. Schwally's treatment of such passages as Gen. xxviii. 12 (*ibid.*, footnote, p. 186) is mere special pleading. We shall be curious to see how this ingenious writer will deal with 1 Kings xxii. in his forthcoming edition of the Sacred Books of the O.T.<sup>2</sup>

I therefore much regret to read Cornill's note on chap. xxv. 30-38. "Schwally has already established that verses 30-38 are not original," and to find them accordingly relegated to the foot of the page. Stade's argument that Zech. xi. 1-3 are based on Jer. xxv. 34-38 should make us pause in such wholesale rejection. It must, however, be confessed that Schwally's arguments against the integrity of xxv. 1-14 rest on a much stronger foundation.

Immediately following chap. xxv. in Cornill's arrangement come xli. 1-12; xlvii. 1-7; xlviii. 1-21, 25, 28, 35-44; xlix. 1-33. This concludes the "Urrolle."

Next follows a collection of discourses delivered from the fifth year to the close of Zedekiah's reign. These include chapters xiv.-

<sup>1</sup> Such as אֵשׁ יְהוָה 1 Kings xviii. 38 (comp. Jud. xiii. 20; Job. i. 16) as the Hebrew designation of lightning. The connection between the sky and mountains would easily account for the special sanctity of such a spot as Horeb. Comp. 1 Kings xx. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Schwally's attempt to erect a hard and fast distinction between the ideas of God in Jer. xli.-xlix. and those in the undisputed writings of Jeremiah (*ibid.*, p. 204) is strained and unnatural in face of the circumstances which this critic expressly ignores (p. 205), that those addressed by Jeremiah in his 'genuine' writings were Jehovah's worshippers, while in the discourses against foreign nations these peoples were worshippers of other gods.

xvii. in the order in which those chapters stand in our Hebrew text: xvii. 1-5 are rightly retained despite their omission by LXX. On the other hand, the confessedly difficult verses xv. 11-14 are rejected; while xvii. 5-13, upon a portion of which Psalm i. is obviously based, are included among the miscellaneous brief fragments of a didactic character placed in the short appendix of the sayings of Jeremiah on page 26. Next come chaps. xii. 8-17 and xxxv. (except 15, 16 interpolated).

This section is followed by another brief one consisting only of chap. xiii. delivered in the reign of Jehoiakin. Then comes a collection of discourses delivered during the reign of Zedekiah, viz.: xxiv.; xxix.; xlix. 34-39; xxii.; xxiii.; xxi.; xx. 14-18, 7-12 [here Ewald's arrangement is followed; verse 13 being regarded as a lyrical supplement]; xxxii.; xxxiii. 1, 2a, 4-13; xxiii. 7, 8. In this section we have to note several considerable interpolations, viz.: xxix. 16-31, and xxxii. 1-5 and 17-23, as well as numerous passages in xxxiii., including 14-26 (omitted by LXX). Here Cornill stands upon much safer ground, for it is impossible to deny that chap. xxxii. has received accretions, while more than half a century ago De Wette recognised that Deutero-Isaianic elements abounded in chaps. xxx., xxxi. and xxxiii.

Another section immediately succeeds, consisting of discourses delivered by the prophet after the capture of Jerusalem. These are arranged in the following order: xxx.; xxxi.; xlv. 13-26. As might be expected, numerous interpolations are removed from the text in chapters xxx., xxxi., viz.: xxx. 10, 11, 22-24; xxxi. 10-14, 35-37. On p. 26 stands a brief collection of disconnected sayings of Jeremiah. Here ends the portion of the work that contains the genuine writings of the prophet.

The next section includes "a collection of biographical chapters concerning Jeremiah's life. They were evidently written after the death of the prophet (which probably occurred shortly after 586) by a person who appears to have been well informed." These chapters are xix.; xx. 1-6; xxvi.; xxxvi.; xlv. 1-5; xxvii.; xxviii.; li. 59-64; xxxiv. 1-7; xxxvii. 5, 3, 6-10; xxxiv. 8-22; xxxvii. 4, 11-21; xxxviii.; xxxix. 15-18; xxxix. 3; xxxviii. 28b; xxx. 14; xl. 6—xliv. 28.<sup>1</sup>

The last section contains chapters written neither by Jeremiah nor by his biographer, viz.: x. 1-16; xvii. 19-27; xxxix. 1-12; xl. 1-5; l.-lii.

<sup>1</sup> In xliii. 13 we are glad to see that Winckler's wholly unnecessary proposal to cancel בית as dittographia before שמע is not adopted. (*A.T.-liche Untersuch.* p. 180 foll.) At the same time LXX באן is substituted for מצרים of the Mass. on what must be regarded as good grounds. In the previous verse καὶ φθειρεῖ γῆν Αἰγύπτου . . . τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ is held to reproduce the genuine text.



Nothing more than this brief summary of results can be now attempted. The critical questions as to genuineness are so numerous, and in many cases so complicated and delicate—sometimes baffling—that they cannot adequately be dealt with in the compass of this review.

We have only therefore been able to deal briefly with a few among them. But these will serve in some measure to illustrate the gigantic task which Dr Cornill has undertaken. So much in any attempt to recover the true order of the oracles must remain conjectural and uncertain that we are inclined to think that the author would have shown more wisdom if he had been less ambitious and had contented himself with the reconstruction of the Hebrew text following the Massoretic order, colours being employed, as in the companion volumes of this series, to indicate interpolations as well as the work of Jeremiah's biographer and still later additions. The attempt to reproduce the order of the oracles in the original Roll (Urrolle) must necessarily be speculative and provisional. Let the reader compare Cornill's results with those of Driver, *Introd.* p. 255, and with those of König (*Einleitung*, p. 340 foll.). Respecting chap. xxxvii. Stade and Cornill differ widely and irreconcilably. Stade (*ZATW*, 1892, p. 277 foll.) places xxxvii. 4-10 between xxi. 2 and 3. Cornill insists on the close connection of xxxiv. and xxxvii., and after rejecting xxxvii. 1, 2 as interpolation makes the following rearrangement: xxxiv. 1-7; xxxvii. 5, 3, 6-10; xxxiv. 8-32; xxxvii. 4, 11-21. Perhaps the strongest and most satisfactory feature of Professor Cornill's work consists in the eminent linguistic and critical tact with which he attempts to restore or purify the text of the prophet when it is corrupt. Few if any can excel him in this respect.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

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### **Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu der Evangelien.**

*Viertes Heft. Paralleltexte zu Johannes, gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. iv. 224. Price, M.7.*

WITH phenomenal rapidity, the sections of Dr Resch's monumental work drop from the press. The three previous ones have been commented on, in this Review, by the present writer; and now the fourth, containing the variant citations of John's Gospel, found in the Christian literature of the first and second centuries, claims

our attention, and elicits our admiration. It is not nearly so large a volume as that on Luke. The parallel texts on Luke, with our author's comments thereupon, cover 828 pages; whereas those on John cover only 154 pages, and a fifth "Heft" is promised on the *Gospel of the Infancy*, Matt. i. ii., Lu. i. ii., which will contain 300 pages. Dr Resch confesses that the study of the parallel texts to John is by no means so remunerative as on the Synoptists, and that the value of the present volume lies in the unprecedentedly thorough examination of early literature in its relation to the fourth Gospel, and in the fresh evidence this yields of its early date and genuine apostolic authorship. With considerable ingenuity, however, Dr Resch turns to account the relatively small number of variant quotations from John, as compared with the Synoptists, in favour of his hypothesis of a Semitic original of the synoptic Gospels. "We possess," says our author in his opening sentence, "only two Gospels, the synoptic and the Johannean: the synoptic, in the three elaborations of a lost Hebrew basal document; the Johannean, in its original form." The evidence on which Resch relies in proving that the synoptic Gospels are in the main translated from a Hebrew "Grundschrift," is the occurrence of "word-variants," e.g.  $\pi α ί ε ι ν = \tau \acute{\upsilon} \pi \tau ε ι ν = \rho \acute{\alpha} \pi \acute{\iota} \xi ε ι ν = \rho \acute{\alpha} \pi \iota \sigma \mu α \delta \iota δ \acute{o} \nu α ι$  found in different authors in quoting Lu. vi. 29 is considered by him to prove the existence of  $\text{קָרַן}$  in a Hebrew original. Resch now assures us (p. 213) that these "word-variants," collected by him in quotations from the synoptic Gospels, reach well into the *third thousand*; while those from John scarcely cover the *first hundred*. This is certainly remarkable. Such a disparity must have a cause; and though I have frequently protested that the existence of these quasi-synonyms alone cannot prove a Semitic original, I fail to see how any one can regard this disparity of numbers as other than confirmatory of the statement of Papias, that "Matthew wrote  $\text{Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ}$  (i.e., either in Aramaic or Hebrew), and that each one translated his work as he was able." There is just one *caveat* which we would interpose—one which our author himself supplies to us in another connection. On page 76 we read:—"The numerous patristic parallels which exist to the Johannine Logion, iii. 5, show both the frequent use of the same and also the manifold alterations which it suffered. Both phenomena stand in close interaction: for passages which are often quoted, as a rule from memory merely, are seldom employed in agreement with the written copy." Frequent *memoriter* quotation leads to inaccuracy. This is an unquestionable principle. Beyond a doubt, the synoptic Gospels entered more thoroughly into the life-blood of the Early Church than the fourth, and this may, to some extent, account for the fact that the synoptic Gospels are quoted much more laxly—

with far more numerous "word-variants"—than the fourth. This must certainly be taken into account, but the disparity between 3000 and 100 cannot be fully explained in this way. There is still an immense residual effect, for which the most probable cause is the one assigned by Dr Resch, viz., that in the Synoptists we have indications of translation from a common Semitic original.

Our author maintains that the *difference of style* between the synoptic and the fourth Gospels also affords a negative proof of the existence of a pre-canonical source (p. 219). In the Synoptists we meet with a multiplicity of narratives curtly narrated, presenting on the whole a sort of mosaic (*Buntheit*). In the fourth Gospel, "all flows out of one mighty source. All comes out of the fulness of one spirit which dominates the material it needs with the utmost freedom. One feels, step by step, that the author at any moment could give immensely more than he really gives. The narrative-portion of the Gospel of John is the author's most personal property, over which, untrammelled by any possible criticism, he rules with absolute sovereignty" (p. 35).

Dr Resch has no misgiving whatever, that the fourth Gospel (with the exception of c. viii. 1-11, and perhaps c. xxi.) is the production of the Apostle John. The external testimony he adduces for its early existence and canonicity is far more copious than I have met with elsewhere. The testimony which our author thinks—and rightly so—deserving of special attention, as a new contribution, is that drawn from the *Didaché*, which he assigns (perhaps a little too sanguinely) to 80-90 A.D. The author of the *Didaché* communicates in chapters vii.-x. some most important portions out of the liturgy of the primitive church, namely, the baptismal formula (c. vii.), the Lord's Prayer (c. viii.), and the Eucharistic liturgy (c. ix., x.). As were the two former, so also was the liturgy of the Eucharist with its three prayers, appropriated by the author out of the traditions of the primitive church. The style and content of these portions is so different from that of the catechetical instruction in which they are embedded, as to show clearly that the author merely incorporated them intact. But the remarkable thing is, that the eucharistic prayers are permeated thoroughly with Johannine phrases, whereas in the catechetical instruction it is impossible to detect the faintest trace of a possible use of the fourth Gospel. At whatever date, then, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" was composed, the eucharistic prayers are much earlier, and they were certainly in regular use before the end of the first century. As this is a matter of exceptional importance, it may repay us to examine on what grounds Dr Resch claims that the eucharistic prayers are intensely Johannine: collecting the references from various parts of the volume. The

first prayer is, "We thank Thee, our Father (J. xi. 41), for the holy vine (J. xv. 1) of David, Thy servant, which Thou hast made known (J. xvii. 26) to us through Jesus, Thy Son: to Thee be the glory for ever. And as regards the broken (bread), we thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge (J. xvii. 3) which Thou hast made known (1 J. i. 2) to us through Jesus, Thy Son. Just as this κλάσμα was once scattered (διασκορπισμένον) over the hills, and having been gathered together, became one (συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν), so let Thy church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom (J. xi. 52; xvii. 11), &c. After ye are filled (J. vi. 11) give thanks thus: We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name (J. xvii. 11) which Thou hast caused to dwell (κατεσκήνωσας, cf. ἐσκήνωσεν, J. i. 14) in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith (J. vi. 69) and immortality (J. xi. 25-6) which Thou hast made known (1 J. i. 2; J. xx. 31) through Jesus, Thy Son. . . . To us Thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life (J. iv. 14; vi. 54-5) through Thy Son. . . . Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from every evil (J. xvii. 15) and to perfect her in Thy love (1 J. iv. 12, 17; J. xvii. 23) and to gather her, now made holy (J. xvii. 19) from the four winds into Thy kingdom" (J. xi. 52). No one can surely deny that these eucharistic prayers are saturated with the teaching of Jesus, preserved to us only in the fourth Gospel. Especially is the prayer of Jesus in John xvii. drawn upon, which, indeed, Dr Resch considers to have been uttered in the upper room, after the conclusion of the first celebration of the Lord's Supper, and thus, in our present text, slightly misplaced. But it has been objected: may not these expressions be drawn from the stream of oral tradition? and thus may not the prayers of the Didaché have been composed prior to the writing of the fourth Gospel? Resch meets this objection with several arguments, of which the strongest seems to me to be that we have in the Didaché mention of "gathering into one (συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν) that which has been scattered abroad (διασκορπισμένον)." Now there is almost certainly here a reference to J. xi. 52, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διασκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν. But this is not an "utterance" of Jesus at all, that it should be perpetuated by oral tradition; it is simply part of the explanation given by the author of the fourth Gospel, as to the unintentional significance of the prophecy of Caiaphas: and therefore, if there is any connection between the two, the author of the prayer must have drawn from a *written* copy of the fourth Gospel.

Other external testimony to the early existence of John's Gospel is to be found in the fourth book of Ezra, which Resch assigns to about 95 A.D. "The parallel 4 Ezra v. 18 = John x. 12, in which

the parable of the Good Shepherd is original to John and borrowed by Ezra, belongs to the Jewish basal document iii.-xiv. The figure of the woman in travail, which meets us, J. xvi. 21, in original priority; 4 Ezra xvi. 39, as a plagiarism of the Johannine text, belongs, on the other hand, to the later Christian additions" (p. 5). Clement of Rome (*circ.* 95) clearly knew of John's Gospel, as is shown notably in 1 Ep. xliii. 6 and lix. 4 = John xvii. 3; xii. 28. A coincidence less frequently noted is from Evodius, the predecessor of Ignatius, as Bishop of Antioch. He, according to the history of Nicephorus Callisti, wrote a book on "The Light," and expressly states that the ministry of Jesus continued *three* years. This is clearly implied in John's Gospel, but there is nothing in the synoptic Gospels definitely implying that the ministry continued more than two years. From this, Resch infers that Evodius was acquainted with the fourth Gospel. The writings of Barnabas, Ignatius, Justin, Polycarp and others have been examined for Johannine allusions, with unprecedented thoroughness: but special interest attaches to the productions of Jewish Christianity; The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (90-130 A.D.), Heras (130-160), and the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (160-170). In the *Testaments*, the allusions to the Synoptists are tenfold more numerous than to John's Gospel, but some undoubted Johannine references are forthcoming; e.g. τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, Levi, c. 14; ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Joseph, c. 19; ἡ πηγὴ εἰς ζωὴν, Judah, c. 24. In *Heras* and the *pseudo-Clementines*, there is even a greater preponderance of synoptic quotations over Johannine, but the fourth Gospel is not ignored. This is the more interesting, as in these works there is only too abundant evidence of the deterioration of Jewish Christianity. Neither in *Heras* nor the *pseudo-Clementines* is there any allusion to the Gospel of the Infancy, to the Passion or the atoning death of Christ, the institution of the Eucharist or the Trinity. The tendency, which the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to counteract, had asserted itself, and Jesus was degraded to a mere διδάσκαλος. Quotations in such writings, from John, clearly prove its acknowledged canonicity.

The *Muratorian fragment* is carefully examined, and its text emended so as to read as follows: "John (wrote) the book of the fourth Gospel from *Decapolis*. When his fellow-disciples and bishops were exhorting him, he said: Fast with me for three days, and whatever is revealed to each we will narrate to one another. The same night it was revealed to Andrew that, while all gave their authentication, John should write the whole in his own name." The text is clearly corrupt, and reads "*decipolis*," which Resch ingeniously suggests should be "*decapoli*": and then adds: "The



composition of the fourth Gospel in Decapolis, or rather, Pella, would agree with the presence of the Apostle there about 70 A.D., and would explain the early use of this Gospel in the eucharistic liturgy of the primitive Church" (p. 33).

As to his principles of textual criticism, Dr Resch is quite at variance with Westcott and Hort, and most modern critics. He does not recognise a "neutral text"; but considers  $\aleph$ B to have undergone a process of recension; and attaches great importance to Codex Bezae, the old Latin, the Curetonian Syriac, the Diatesaron, patristic quotations, and ancient liturgies. He thinks that the Sinaitic Syriac has been over-estimated. "Where it agrees with Cur. it presents nothing new: where it differs, it seldom gives us anything old." We may here cite one or two important instances in which Resch prefers patristic evidence to that of the MSS. In John i. 13, where R.V. reads, "As many as received Him to them gave He the right to become the children of God, even to those that believe on His name who *were born* ( $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ) not of blood . . . but of God," Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Justin (seven times) all give a singular verb, and refer the words to the Incarnation of Jesus. Resch considers this to be the primitive reading, and would therefore render: ". . . sons of God . . . who believe on the name of Him who *was born* not of the will of the flesh . . . but of God." Resch claims Syr-Cur. in favour of Justin, &c. Tisch. omits it. The fact is, Cur. gives a plural pronoun, "who," but a singular verb, "was born." Baethgen's restoration is  $\text{o}\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ . When Aristides says  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\ \pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\phi\theta\acute{\omicron}\rho\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$ , he gives a rhetorical quotation of our text, interpreted after the manner of Justin. In John iii. 34-5, "for He giveth not the spirit by measure," Ephraim Syrus and Aphraates append "to His Son": and Resch regards this as a primitive reading lost in later MSS. In John xi. 54 he is of opinion that the genuine reading is preserved only in Codex Bezae, which reads: "He went away into the district of  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ , near the desert, to a city called Ephraim." Resch criticises adversely the theory of Harris (Study of Codex Bezae, p. 184) and Chase (Syro-Latin text of the Gospels, p. 108), who explain  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  as a corruption of two Syriac words meaning "whose name was 'desert.'" The Latin text of Cod. Bezae reads "Sapfurim" =  $\Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$ , which differs from  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  only as  $\Lambda\mu\beta\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu$  from  $\text{ܠܡܒܟܝܢ}$ . Hence Resch suggests that  $\Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$  is really the Sepharvaim of 2 Kings xvii. 24, &c., which word appears in MSS. of LXX as  $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu$ ,  $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$  and  $\Sigma\epsilon\pi\phi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ . These people were sent to colonize Samaria, and may therefore well have given a name to a district of the hill country of Ephraim (p. 142). Though given now for the first time, Dr Resch is

sanguine that this will be accepted by scholars as a final solution (p. 204).

The remarks given in connection with each group of parallel texts are neither so copious nor so valuable as those given in M. Mk. Lu. On c. i. 4 Resch adduces new evidence in favour of R.V. Marg., "That which hath been made was life in Him." He gives no early paradiplomatic evidence in favour of *μονογενὴς θεός* (i. 18); and he identifies Nathanael, not with Bartholomew, but with Matthew (i. 48). The variant citations are most numerous on c. iii. 5, where we learn at what an early period being "born of water" was referred to Baptism, and also how soon, in some quarters, the immersion of the believer was deemed necessary to salvation. The word *ἄνωθεν* of iii. 3 is never found, we are told, in any early author. Instead, we have *ἀναγεννᾶν* or simply *γεννᾶν*, and therefore Resch infers that the rendering "from above" was unknown to primitive Christianity. He regards viii. 1-11 as a genuine remnant of a pre-canonical Gospel, but not Johannine: and as for c. xxi. 1-14, Resch agrees with Weiss that this is ultimately identical with Luke v. 1-11. Luke, says he, follows here neither the Semitic source nor the Marcus. Probably he found a fly-leaf containing this incident, and confusing the *restoration* of Peter with his "*call*," inserted it at the commencement of Christ's ministry, instead of at its close (p. 199).

On the "chief-problem" of the fourth Gospel, *i.e.* the difference of its style and content from that of the Synoptists, Resch does not dwell at length. On page 37 we read: "With this exact historical character of the Johannine Gospel, an ideal freedom goes hand-in-hand which not seldom seems to burst the bounds of history. In this mysterious connection of an ideal freedom in which the thoughts of the author move, with a historic precision on which he himself lays the greatest stress, the chief difficulty of the Johannine question is contained." His explanation is two-fold. (1) In the apostle John we have one who was Prophet, as well as historian. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, he attained such a state of inspiration, that with *πεφωτισμένοις ὀφθαλμοῖς* he looked back into the historical past of Jesus, without losing his own clear self-consciousness, in such a way that the boundary between exact historic recollection of the word once heard, and the creative reproduction of the words of Jesus, wrought within him during the lapse of years, in many places (*e.g.* c. iii. xiv. ff.) easily disappeared (pp. 39, 40). (2) He ventures on the assertion that if we possessed the pre-canonical Gospel of Matthew, we should find that the differences between it and John were far fewer than between John and our canonical Matthew, and not a few questions which now perplex us would be satisfactorily settled. This, of course, is an assertion

which may be safely made, and which, at all events, cannot at present be disproved.

Though in this volume, as in the others, there are many statements and theories which one cannot endorse, yet one closes his perusal of it with profound admiration for the patience with which its *facts* are collected, on which each one will theorize for himself. All earnest students of the New Testament will look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the appearance of the fifth volume.

J. T. MARSHALL.

### **The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom.**

*The Baird Lectures for 1895. By Henry Cowan, D.D., Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen. London: A. & C. Black. 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 274. Price, 3s. 6d.*

IN a series of six lectures, Professor Cowan shows how the Scottish Church, Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Dissenting, has directly and indirectly affected Christendom. He traces the influence through missions of the early and of the reformed Church; the influence of the reformed Church on England, Ireland, the Continent, and the Colonies; and, in the sixth lecture, the influence exerted on the promotion of spiritual independence and the advancement of political liberty. Scotland, with ecclesiastics after the order of Hildebrand, and kings with the stubborn mind of the Emperor Henry IV., has reproduced in a small arena some of the great mediæval struggles between Church and State, and her history has been lively; but one is apt to think of the Church before and after the Reformation as national and self-centred, touched on occasion from without, but touching almost nothing in turn. Professor Cowan endeavours to show that from first to last this Church has exerted some influence on other Churches; and he is to be congratulated on the success of his endeavour, since an ample knowledge of books has enabled him to trace the footsteps of the ecclesiastical Scot abroad, of religious men like Dr Duff and Dr Livingstone. It must be confessed, however, that he has named so many notables, and wandered to so many places, that our interest and curiosity excite us to wish that he had spent his energy in an original investigation of one of the many subjects with which he deals, such as the influence of the Scottish Reformers on the Church of England. This volume, with its excellent but irrelevant defence of the present Established Church, with its multitude of references to standard and other books, is withal hardly a contribution to history: it is rather a summary of missionary

triumphs, and a glorification of the Scottish Church as a force in the world. In the endeavour to narrate the services of this Church to Christendom, Dr Cowan is sometimes over zealous. The work, for example, of Livingstone in Africa hardly deserves to be placed to the credit of the Scottish Church, since, though he was a Scot, and in one sense "the great Scottish missionary," he began his public life as an official of an English society. Then, again, the consecration of a bishop for America is put down to the credit of Scotland. In 1783, the clergy of Connecticut elected Dr Seabury to the Episcopal office, and sent him to England for consecration. The English bishops could not find that it was their legal business to take part in the ceremony, and the unfortunate man had to seek in Scotland the consecration he could not obtain in America or England. "In November 1884 (*sic*), within an 'upper room,' fitted up as a chapel, in an obscure street of Aberdeen, the memorable consecration took place, through which a Reformed Episcopate was communicated to American Christendom." Dr Cowan might as well have chronicled among the glories of the Church in Scotland the endeavours of certain bishops, in the 18th century, to negotiate with the Greeks a union which would have been an ecclesiastical fiasco, like the alliance of the Greek and Roman Churches under Pope Eugene IV.

In the last lecture, that on political liberty, we have another striking example of the attempt to magnify the influence of the Scottish Church. The clergy of the Scottish, unlike those of the English Church, we are told, "distinguished clearly in their policy between conservative resistance to royal tyranny and that radical antagonism to monarchical government whose earlier outcome was a short-lived Republic, and whose later issue was a reactionary Restoration. The Scottish Church helped thus to forward what her English sister for two generations hindered, the growth of constitutional monarchy." History shows that the Scottish clergy during the first period of the Covenanters were on the side of freedom, and that the Episcopal clergy of England during the Protectorate were not; but after the Restoration, what did the ministers of the Established Church in Scotland do for political or ecclesiastical liberty? Did they show any resistance to tyranny and thus help to forward the growth of constitutional monarchy? The Revolution Settlement was a moment in English political progress, and would probably have been precisely what it was had there been no Scotland. The Republican government of Cromwell's time was not prevented by the Scots, and the Restoration was not their work. The extent of their influence on English political life is shown by the fact that the coronation of Charles II. at Scone was not followed by a ceremony at Westminster; and it may

safely be said that they learned the strength of England under Cromwell in a way to satisfy them that they could neither effect nor prevent the Restoration.

It is true that the Scots, claiming spiritual independence for their Church and asserting its divine right, professed loyalty to the person of the king when they framed the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant; and for this reason the early Covenanting movement may be styled "conservative resistance to royal tyranny." It is also true that while Charles I. lived they were not strong enough, even though they had wished, to throw off allegiance to him; and they were led by nobles. In the period during which Cromwell was Protector the Scottish clergy were divided in policy, in spite or in consequence of their "conservative resistance;" and the conduct of the factions with their feuds and tyrannies made the people rejoice in a Restoration brought about by the English, and was partly the cause, though not the justification, of the exercise of the royal prerogative which established Episcopacy. "Conservative resistance" was not conspicuous among the Established clergy after the Restoration, and they did nothing to mitigate the severity of the royal policy. "The radical antagonism to monarchical government" which the Scottish clergy avoided, resulted in England in "a short-lived republic"; but the republic lived long enough to give Cromwell time to make the name of England respected in Europe, and to show what constitutional government could be in a country ruled either by a king or a protector. While Cromwell was protecting England to some permanent effect the Scottish clergy were wrangling over a king whom they had forced to accept the Covenant, and to sign a declaration condemning his father's conduct and his mother's religion. The men of the National Covenant, and the later Covenanters, with something very like "radical antagonism to monarchical government," contended for liberty; but even without them the Revolution Settlement, as a new political order, would have been made.

JOHN HERKLESS.

**Symbolik. Vergleichende Darstellung der christlichen Hauptkirchen nach ihrem Grundzuge und ihren wesentlichen Lebensäusserungen,**

*Von Professor E. F. Karl Müller, in Erlangen. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. (Georg Böhme); London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 548. Price, M.8.50.*

"FEW will challenge," says Professor Müller in his preface, "the need of a reconsideration of the questions of Symbolics, and none



will dispute the need of a reconsideration of such questions from the ecclesiastical standpoint of the writer." Neither opinion is extravagant. For, on the one hand, good books on the scientific study of the creeds of Christendom are not numerous, while none are very recent; and, on the other hand, the ecclesiastical circle of Professor Müller have a right to make themselves heard. The origin of this *Symbolik* is manifest. Lectures on the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants are commonly delivered from the chairs of the German universities, whether Romanist or Protestant, occasionally issuing in notable books which have appealed to a wider than the academic circle. In this way Karl Müller, an extra professor at Erlangen, has to lecture upon Reformed Theology, with special reference to the Protestant Churches of the Evangelical Union of the Palatinate; and he, too, in the volume before us, addresses a wider audience, his special subject being the Problems of Symbolics as they shape themselves to a believer in the substantial unity of Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism.

There is certainly a place for so careful and so scholarly and so impartial a study as this. Everywhere the requirements of the serious inquirer are consulted, at once in the conciseness and unrheterical presentation of the material (the book is packed very full indeed), and also in the full references to the relative literature. Then, as has been said, there are convictions here as well as the data for discussion. The Protestant reply to the Roman Catholic claims is thus finely presented, special emphasis being laid upon the essential unity, in spite of much diversity, of the two main streams of Protestantism which had their rise in the masterful personalities of Luther and Calvin. Certainly much more is given here than statistical information concerning doctrines and rites. The trend of the information is throughout apparent. Be it noted, too, that this present volume only deals with the main church systems: a subsequent volume is promised upon the Symbolics of the smaller communions.

What precisely this volume does, is to elaborate a comparison of the leading churches of Christendom according to their essential principles, and according to their logical development in doctrine and practice. And the latter branch of inquiry is as important as the former. For no framers of doctrine are ever conscious of the full extent of their divergences. Ecclesiastical, like political revolutions, are not conducted according to a preconcerted and completed system. Fundamental principles only disclose their full implications by degrees, and, for the most part, under the stress of interpreting them into character, worship, and practice.

Such being the general purpose of our author, namely, to

present (with the utmost charity, conciliation, and truthfulness, be it added) the doctrinal and practical differences of Catholics and Protestants, with clear reference to the Evangelical Union of Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia, the book is mapped out in the following manner:—In an introductory section the aims, data, and method of Symbolics, the comparative and scientific examination of the Confessions of Christendom, are dealt with, the evangelical principles assumed and applied throughout being also formulated. Then the entire subject, as far as at present treated, is distributed into five parts. In the First Part the common possession of Christendom is considered, as evidenced by the several œcumenical creeds, the so-called Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian; and in this part, too, a preliminary view is given of the divergence between Catholicism and Protestantism. In the Second Part Roman Catholicism is reviewed, its documentary sources, its theory of the church, its sacramental theory, its general polity. Then, in the Third Part, Greek Catholicism is described, its sources named, its pretension to be the one orthodox faith stated, its characteristic cultus and life sketched. The Fourth Part brings Lutheran Protestantism before us—the credal sources for its exposition, its doctrine of justification and the doctrinal implications of that cardinal dogma, its peculiar doctrine of the sacraments. In the Fifth Part Reformed Protestantism is surveyed, the manifest unity as well as the variety of the Reformed Churches being emphasised, the common principles of the Reformed doctrines analysed, the extensions of their ecclesiastical system described, their theory of the cure of souls, and of worship, being outlined. In a final section, the several attempts at a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, especially in Germany, are recited, and a few general conclusions drawn.

From such a ground-plan it might seem that the main purpose of the author is polemic. But such a thought does him injustice; for his treatment is eminently calm, full and judicial, the polemic bias to select material, and to underestimate opposite opinions, being most laudably absent. Symbolics, indeed, is the science of symbols or creeds, as Dogmatics is the science of dogmas or doctrines, and it is dubitable whether Symbolics, any more than Dogmatics, can be treated in a manner absolutely free from the expression of opinion. It is true that two forms of treatment have appeared in history, the one according as the investigator has ostensibly occupied a position within one confession or another, the other where he has placed himself outside all confessions. Winer's well-known *Comparative Darstellung* is the type of the latter treatment, and Johann Adam Möhler's equally famous *Symbolik* is the type of the former treatment. In Winer tables were drawn up in

which, side by side, the differences manifested by the several Confessions of Christendom were simply presented to view. In Möhler there was a very distinct polemic aim, namely, to demonstrate the superiority of Roman Catholicism over Protestantism in any form. But Winer could no more hide his bias than Möhler, nor is Winer more acceptable to the Romanist than Möhler to the Protestant. So probably it must ever be. A Symbolics without opinions, latent if not avowed, is as impossible as undesirable. All we have a right to ask is that the Protestant write as if the majority of his readers may be Romanist, and the Romanist write as if the majority of his readers may be Protestant. If this ideal standard has not been reached by Professor Müller, it may certainly be said that his ideal seems ever to have been *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*.

The method of the book should now be explained at a little more length. Let us select the treatment of Roman Catholicism. First, the various confessional sources are briefly but fully named, a summary being given of the decisions of the various Councils acknowledged as authoritative by the Roman Communion, from that of Nicæa to that of the Vatican. Next, a rapid survey is presented of other sources, such as the Papal Bulls, the Tridentine Catechism, Bellarmin's Controversies, the official liturgical books, the ecclesiastical canons, and various hymn-books, prayer-books, catechisms and journals, which are evidence of the present state of Roman Catholicism. Thus the Romish doctrine of the church is formulated from confessional sources. Next, the theories of the sacraments are described, namely the general theory of the sacraments, the theories of baptism and confession, the theories of confirmation and extreme unction, the theories of marriage and orders, the theory of the eucharist and the mass, and the theory of various sacramental acts of the second grade. Finally, the rule of the church is considered, on the one hand as the direction of the faithful, and on the other hand, as external church authority. In about a hundred pages a more careful and complete survey of these thorny themes is given than can be found in any Protestant book known to me. This solid treatment is characteristic of the entire book. Thus on all subjects treated the sources from which opinions may be gained are tabulated, together with all necessary introductory and explanatory matter, and together with full reference to related literature. This detail of method alone makes the book of value. Then, with respect to the main churches of Christendom, an attempt is made to depict the leading principle or principles of each communion, the implications of these principles being pointed out. In short, the prominent features of this book are first, scholarship; second, fairness; third, judgment; fourth, catholicity.

The final words of the book run as follows: "On the basis of the common possession of the churches of the Union, and of the entire presentation and of the principles developed at the outset we formulate the following result. The future does not belong to any particular church, but to the whole of evangelical Christendom, which will have to fight out to its issue the battle with Romanism, which is ever developing into Anti-christendom. So ramifying is the community of the main evangelical churches that a complete separation is an impossibility. It is only exclusive sects which shut out all union; the greater ecclesiastical bodies at most do so in theory, but never in practice. On the other hand, the development of the church of the future has not advanced so far that the present types may straightway die out. Indeed old types are everywhere returning. Even within the Evangelical Union, in one place the Lutheran and in another the Reformed doctrine preponderates. On the Rhine, in the Palatinate, and in Baden the former rules, and in East Germany the latter. Both Confessions must be brought into a stronger and fuller union. Certainly this union is not to be thought of as uniformity. But it seems certain to us that in these churches the spirit of the Evangelical Union will predominate. Pure Lutheranism has always been separatist, but what Luther did for the Church was essentially adopted into the general reformed Protestantism in the sixteenth century."

This is the one narrow and sectarian note in the book. Should not Professor Müller's outlook be a little wider? Can he really expect that the principles of the Evangelical Union, arranged largely by political influence in Prussia in 1817, are going to govern the Church of the Future? Surely the Church of the Future will embrace all Christendom—Asiatic, African, American, as well as European; and Europe is somewhat wider than part of Germany; and the Church of the Future may probably do without any formulated creed at all. Is it not probable too that the Church of the Future will preserve the distinctive characteristics of all the great churches, and even of many of the smaller communions, so far as these peculiarities are rooted in special Divine graces, or in varying mental constitution, or in any specific mission to man. As Professor Müller sees, unity is not uniformity. In the controversies ahead of us, which will assuredly be a fiery trial, the wood and hay and stubble of man's invention will be burned, but the gold and silver and precious stones will be preserved unscathed, and every least builder on the foundation of Jesus Christ will receive the reward of the permanence of his work.

Probably, too, in the evolution of the Church of the Future, the study of Symbolics will play some part. Would that there were capable English studies of comparative doctrine, for the churches

in England sadly need such studies just now. Failing good English works, however, Professor Müller's *Symbolik* should render useful service. It should be translated.

ALFRED CAVE.

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**Der Gebrauch des Alten Testaments in den neutestamentlichen Schriften.**

*Von Dr August Clemen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv. 252. Price, M.3.60.*

THE author of this little work is not an upholder of any doctrine of infallible inspiration; and he is a believer in the principle of the historical interpretation of all writings. The sense of Scripture is that which those who wrote it intended to express and desired their contemporaries to understand. Holding this principle he raises the question, How the use of the Old Testament in the New is to be explained! In an interesting introduction he reviews the various ways in which the Old Testament has been interpreted from New Testament times down to the present day, adding to this review a statement of the principles on which he would explain its use in the New; and then in the Book itself he discusses the use of the Old Testament in the various parts of the New Testament—the use by our Lord, by the Evangelists, in the Acts, by St Paul, &c., the use in the Apocalypse alone not being considered. The subject is one which the author has had before his mind for a number of years, and some small works formerly published on the earlier part of the New Testament are here reprinted, and the investigation carried through the other portions. The exegesis of the work seems sound; the author's tone is candid and moderate, and his work is thoughtful, and should be very useful.

A "double sense" of Old Testament passages has been much spoken of, and there is no objection to the phrase or the idea provided there be a rational connection between the two senses. There may in that case be not only a double sense, but a manifold sense. Bengel laid down the principle that there was in many passages a sense meant by Divine intention for the contemporaries of the prophet or writer and bearing on things then present: but the same Divine intention, looking further forward *sic formavit orationem* that it (the language) more suited the times of the Messiah. The objectionable thing in this idea, which has been numberless times repeated, was that it operated with the mere language of the Old Testament and not with its ideas. The prophets did not "use language" or "write words," as is often said; they expressed ideas



in suitable words. And the same words can never express two senses. No passage can have more than one sense, but this one sense may receive a wider application, or a more complete verification, or a more perfect fulfilment; in particular, the sense being a religious or spiritual idea all that was particular or relative about its first expression may be stripped off and it may be used in a general or absolute manner. At any rate we must not operate with Old Testament *words*, supposed capable of bearing more than one sense, but with Old Testament ideas, which are susceptible of various applications.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

**An Introduction to Theology : Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature.**

*By Alfred Cave, B.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College. Second edition, largely rewritten. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1896. 8vo, pp. xiv. 610. Price, 12s.*

**Das Abendmahl und die neuere Kritik.**

*By Otto Holtzheuer, Superintendent at Weserlingen a. d. Aller. Berlin : Wiegandt & Grieben, 1896 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 74. Price, M.1.20.*

**Bible Characters : Adam to Achan.**

*By Alexander Whyte, D.D., author of "Bunyan Characters," "Lancelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions," etc., etc. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 301. Price, 3s. 6d.*

**Life and Light from Above.**

*By Solon Lauer. London : Elliot Stock. 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 250.*

WE have here the second edition in a considerably altered and improved form of an extremely useful work. The first edition appeared in 1886, and was at once recognised as filling an important place in theological literature. Under the title of "An Introduction to Theology," Dr Cave includes what German theologians have been wont to distinguish as Encyclopædia and Methodology, meaning by these respectively the theory and practice of theological Introduction. Encyclopædia, as commonly understood, deals with the general idea of theology, the classification and arrangement of the several theological sciences, and the

contents and distribution of these sciences in so far as necessary to the understanding of their mutual relations. Some writers on *Encyclopædia* have insisted upon regarding it as a purely formal science, dealing not with the matter, but only with the scientific form of theology. Methodology offers a plan of theological study, and undertakes to provide a guide and directory to theological students in the various departments of the science. Dr Cave, in his "Introduction," seeks to cover the whole ground. There is a very large number of works on *Encyclopædia* by German theologians, and, more recently, each theological school seems to have been sending forth a treatise of its own. The classical works of Hagenbach and Rübiger, which, in several important respects, may be said to supplement one another, are not likely soon, if ever, to be superseded. One of the latest works of note in this department is that of Heinrici from the standpoint of the Ritschlian School. Dr Cave prefers the name "Introduction" to that of "Encyclopædia," because of the ambiguity of the latter term, which more usually suggests to an English reader a dictionary or treatise arranged alphabetically. But it should be remembered that a similar ambiguity attaches to the name *Introduction*, which might quite naturally suggest a theological treatise of an introductory or elementary character. There does not seem to be much here to choose between, and either the one name or the other may be accepted as quite suitable and adequate. The full title of Dr Cave's book is certainly free from all ambiguity.

The first part of Dr Cave's work, pp. 41-123, treats of theology in general, and, together with the prolegomena, corresponds to the first volume of the English edition of Rübiger. And just here we come upon a very important question in view of the mapping out of the theological sciences in the body of the work. The question necessarily raised at the very beginning of a treatise on theological *Encyclopædia* is, What are we to reckon, in determining the character of such a work, as the boundaries of theology? What exactly is for us the connotation of that term? Is it to be Christian theology—the theology of the Christian revelation? Or is it to be understood more widely as including the theologies of mankind at large,—Ethnic as well as Christian? Dr Cave adopts this latter view. "Probably," he says, "the best method for securing precision is to restrict the word to the widest usage, adding modifying appellatives wherever necessary. Theology as such, then, is the science of religion; and natural, Parsi, Biblical, Christian, pastoral theology are the sciences respectively of the religion of nature, of Zoroaster, of the Bible, of Christ, of the working pastor" (p. 43). This latter sentence seems in every way a most unfortunate one, and utterly indefensible. But, in connection

with the point just now before us, we find that this very sentence is followed by the remark that, to avoid appearance of pedantry, the modifying appellations will be sometimes omitted, Doctrinal Theology, for example, being used for Doctrinal Christian Theology, *when the reader is not likely to be thinking of the doctrines of any non-Christian faith.* And this italicised statement describes exactly the position of the theological student, for whom the Encyclopædia is prepared; he is a student of Christian theology. Without exception, so far as I am aware, all the German writers on *Theological Encyclopædia* have confined themselves in the treatment of their science to Christian theology; and in doing so, it seems to me that they have acted in a thoroughly scientific manner, because what is really wanted and intended is an Introduction to the branches or disciplines of Christian theology. In saying so I am aware that I have some of the most profound and accomplished of our own theologians against me, and no one with any vestige of modesty can help feeling somewhat uneasy in taking up a position against such men as Dr Flint, Principal Stewart, and Dr Cave. Drs Flint and Stewart speak very strongly of the absurdly unscientific procedure of the Germans in restricting their Encyclopædia to the departments of Christian theology. But with all due respect to such distinguished theologians, it does not seem to me that the adoption of this widest sense of the term theology as the subject of an encyclopædic treatise, so as to include not only Christian theology, but also the Ethnic theologies, is by any means necessary; and I think an examination of the figure which this enlargement of the idea makes in works of Dr Drummond and Dr Cave shows that for practical purposes it is extremely undesirable. Dr Drummond's *Introduction to the Study of Theology* is a purely formal sketch, but even in such a work, the treatment of comparative religion is absurdly inadequate, so slight and disproportioned that it clearly had better not have been there at all. Philosophy as mental, ethical and religious, whose presence as a branch of theology cannot surely be seriously defended, receives 12 pp., Comparative religion only 7½ pp., while all the rest of the work is given to the several branches of Christian theology. This treatment shows that the first two sections are practically regarded as introductory, and that properly they ought to have been in the introduction, if anywhere, and not in the body of the work. In Dr Cave's work, which follows the material method of treatment, the first two branches of theology discussed in the first two sections are entitled respectively,—natural theology and ethnic theology. Is there really such a thing as ethnic theology? Can we put on the same line these three—natural, ethnic, Christian, theology? When we speak of Christian theology, we have before us a unity, that no

denominational or sectarian varieties can affect. Is there any similar unity which we can designate ethnic theology? It seems to me that we have only ethnic religions, and that we have not, and never can have, an ethnic theology. And even apart from this, how should we co-ordinate natural theology and the so-called ethnic theology? Clearly this would be impossible apart from a special theory of the origin and essence of religion. And so we find that Dr Cave in his introduction follows § 6, What is Theology? with § 7, What is Religion? Now each religion has its theology, and if our *Encyclopædia* is not to be narrowly Christian in its theology, surely each religion ought to be allowed to bring forward and secure a place for its own theology. The statement on p. 200: "From what has been said, it is evident that the history of the study of ethnic theology resolves itself into a history of the advancing knowledge of each separate religion," may be read as an admission that ethnic theology is an abstract term for a non-existent, purely imaginary unity—that we have histories and historical investigations dealing with the separate religions, but no ethnic theology. This "ethnic theology" is evidently an incubance that such encyclopædists as Dr Cave take up as a matter of principle, but which as a matter of practice they would very gladly be rid of. If Dr Cave intends his "Introduction to Theology" to be in the same sense an Introduction to all theologies, why do we not have "the principles, the branches, the results, and the literature," of the theologies of all known religions, ancient and modern, extinct and existing, savage and cultured, dealt with in succession and in order, and in the same proportion as the departments and subdivisions of the Christian religion? The only way to avoid this difficulty is to put religion and religions outside of the *Encyclopædia*, and in that science to deal not generally even with the Christian religion, but only with Christian theology. If natural theology and ethnic theology (?) be removed, Dr Cave's distribution is essentially the usual fourfold division of Hagenbach and Rübiger. Under the head of Biblical theology we have mainly the usual subdivisions under what is more commonly called exegetical theology. But having taken the name Biblical theology for the general title, it was necessary to devise a new designation for what is ordinarily known by that name. "Biblical dogmatics" is just the old Biblical theology. This name, however, could be more fitly applied to a systematising of the doctrine of the Bible, such as we have in Lutz, *Biblische Dogmatik* (which I find is not referred to by Dr Cave), rather than to the historical or exegetical discipline to which it is here given. The name "Comparative Theology" for what is ordinarily called systematic or doctrinal theology, does not seem to have met with any approval, but is still retained.

Apart from these matters of detail that have been referred to, the treatise before us is one fitted in a most eminent degree to interest and instruct the theological student. The classified lists of books appended to each division are exhaustive in the best sense, in giving all the best and most trustworthy books on the several subjects. Taken as a whole, it is, for the English student, the best book for giving a comprehensive, connected and well arranged distribution of the theological sciences. As an Introduction to theological science it easily holds the first place.

Otto Holtzheuer's treatise has grown out of a lecture delivered at the Easter Conference of 1896 at Gnadau, to an audience consisting chiefly but not exclusively of clergymen. The purpose of the writer in his lecture and in the publication of it, was the very commendable one of indicating the general lines on which historical and exegetical discussion with reference to the Lord's Supper had been proceeding, to those who, from the remoteness of their residence and the exacting demands of their official duties, could not be expected to keep themselves in touch with all the latest theological literature. In an extremely interesting and informing way he reports and criticises the recent utterances on this subject by Harnack, Spitta, Jülicher, and Haupt, and the still more recent writings of Grafe, Schultzen, and R. A. Hoffmann. We have, first of all, a clear and ably summarised description of Harnack's *Brot und Wasser die urchristlichen Elemente bei Justin*, 1891, to which Zahn and Jülicher replied in favour of the use of wine in Justin's age. The chief passage in Justin (1 *Apol.* c. 65) reads, according to the best MSS.: ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος—bread and a cup with water and mixed wine. Harnack seeks to reject καὶ κράματος as an interpolation. But our author makes out a good case for retaining the words, and shows that, after mention of water in the cup, quite naturally mixed wine, and not pure wine (οἶνος), is mentioned. Other three arguments employed by Harnack to show that in Justin's time bread and water were recognised as suitable elements in the administration of the Supper, are stated and discussed. The last of these is an attempt to show from a casual remark of Cyprian, that the cup might be dispensed with altogether, and that a mere "breaking of bread" would constitute a celebration of the sacrament. According to Harnack, the elements were of little importance. The contents of the cup might be changed; the cup itself might be set aside. What Jesus did was to consecrate the nourishment used daily at common meals by designating it His body and His blood. The Supper is a meal at which He, being held in remembrance, is present in His forgiving power. The Agape was the appropriate reproduction of the



original celebration. The idea, as our author says, is Ritschlian and thoroughly modern, but is wanting in all support from the words of our Lord spoken at the Table.

The idea of the meal is also prominent in Spitta's paper on *The Primitive Traditions on the Origin and Meaning of the Supper*, but his main purpose is to shew that it was not a Paschal feast, but simply the last meal of Master and disciples together. Our author regards the usual solution as natural and fair, that the Son of Man, who is Lord of the Sabbath, and therefore also of the Passover, chose to celebrate that feast on the evening before the proper one, seeing He must suffer on the following day.

Jülicher's treatise on *The History of the Supper in the Ancient Church* puts all emphasis on "the breaking" and "the pouring out," and finds in the Supper a parable teaching that, as bread broken nourishes man, so His flesh those who rent it.

And finally, Haupt, *On the Origin and Meaning of the Words at the Supper*, gives a criticism of the text of the words of institution. In contrast to Jülicher he puts in the forefront the benefit of Christ's death and the blood of the covenant as the leading thoughts in the first Supper, and maintains the authenticity of the Pauline demand for the repeated observance of the institution.

The lecture of Grafe reviews those treatises already named, and concludes that in the Supper Christ pointed to His approaching death, and represented Himself as a sacrifice whereby a new covenant was formed with God for His disciples. Without having any express command the disciples sought, in similar celebrations, to reawaken and deepen in them the thoughts of that sacred hour. Schultzen, in his *Das Abendmahl im neuen Testament*, 1895, in opposition to many objectors, seeks to emphasise as strongly as possible the relation of the Supper to the death of Jesus. "Body and blood come into consideration here, not as the moments constituting His personality, but as that in which His death was accomplished. It is certain that His person which He offered, and His body and His blood, have value not as physical substances, but because His person stands behind them." Our author regards this distinction between body and blood on the one hand, and the person of the Lord, on the other, as artificial, but, on the whole, warmly approves of this able evangelical little treatise. R. A. Hoffmann, in his *Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, 1896, makes a careful comparison of the Synoptist and Pauline texts with the passage in Justin, 1 *Apol.* c. 66. The peculiarity of the piece appears in the rejection of the *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* of Luke and Paul in favour of the *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* of Matthew and Mark. The disciples, Hoffmann holds, had no need of the death of Christ, which was necessary only for the unbelief of the hardened multitude. Holtz-

heuer says that he will not waste discussion on this, which he not too severely characterises as a somewhat hysterical attempt to pander to the general cry for something new.

Apart from the interesting statement of views set forth by representative men in recent works, the discussion widens out, under the hand of the lecturer, into an important vindication and resetting of the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine. There is a high spiritual tone maintained throughout the whole treatise. There is in it much to engage and satisfy the student of theological science, and much also to edify and comfort those who are seeking after nourishment for their souls.

Dr Whyte's volume consists of twenty-six lectures on leading characters in the first six books of the Bible. Large crowds were attracted to hear them delivered in Free St George's, Edinburgh, and it is to be hoped that much larger numbers will profit by them as they are now issued in so handsome and convenient a form. What strikes the reader at once is the wonderful freshness and brilliancy of treatment. In many of the lectures what is said is something altogether different from what anyone could have expected, and yet, in most cases, the reader feels that what is said is just what should have been said. There can be no doubt at all that what is said is invariably what it is most needful should be said in these days. Nothing can be more tiresome than the reproduction, in twenty pages, of a story that the biblical historian has given graphically, and in an inimitable way, in two. Dr Whyte never commits this mistake. For the most part all the characteristic details of the Bible narrative are wrought up in a vigorous resetting of the story, so that the whole picture presented proves equally true to the conditions of its original form, and to the facts and realities of present life. The style of treatment in the different lectures varies greatly. In dealing with characters in regard to whom the Bible historian gives ample details—Jacob, Joseph, Moses—the leading or central incidents in their recorded lives are laid hold upon, and lessons for our own time and for our own selves are read very pointedly to us, and these are not read into the old patriarchs' lives, but in the most natural and convincing way read out of them. Two of the most brilliant of the lectures are those on Pharaoh and Balaam. The hardening of Pharaoh and the self-deception of Balaam have never been delineated with such a power of spiritual vivisection. The hardness of Pharaoh, to which the magicians had contributed, but which at last, when they tried, they could themselves make no impression upon, and the cherished covetousness of Balaam, which all his prophetic inspiration, and his wondrously eloquent expres-

sion of it, could not overcome, are among the most powerful and striking things in this powerful and striking volume. The lectures most likely to call forth adverse criticism, and even perhaps to give offence to some, are those on Eve and Ham. In the lecture on Eve the speculation of Behmen, quoted with evident appreciation, as to the probability of some lapse on the part of Adam before the creation of Eve, is not only utterly without any kind of support, but rather aggravates the difficulty by making her who was to repair the evil the vehicle of the temptation to him whose nature had been previously impaired. The somewhat rhapsodical effusion on Ham is a pure romance. As a work of imagination it is most interesting, and its ethical teaching is most impressive. Of the volume as a whole it may candidly be said that in point of the sustaining of the reader's interest, and the vigorous enforcement of the highest matters of Christian faith and practice, it takes easily a first place among the writings of its class.

*Life and Light from Above* is a very curious medley of a book. It is thoroughly American, not only in its eccentricities of spelling, but also in its modes of thought and expression. The first 140 pp. are occupied with a series of most varied reflections on human life and literature, divided into over eighty short paragraphs, each distinguished by a special heading. The tone is throughout very high, and many extremely good and suggestive ideas are thrown out, in an absolutely unmethodical way. "Pages from a Catalina Journal," pp. 140-173, contain a somewhat similar series of reflections on outward nature and the life of the soul. "Leaves from an Adirondack Journal," pp. 174-212, contain some brilliant descriptions of the Wild West, and the occupations and reflections of a thoughtful man in those vast and awful solitudes. The volume closes, pp. 213-250, with "Soul Voices," a collection of tuneful lyrics, in which, often with rare beauty and poetic power, the most winning expression is given to that somewhat Pantheistic view of nature and life, which has characterised some of the best of New England literature.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

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**The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, with Introduction and Notes.**

*By the Rev. A. B. Davidson, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh. Cambridge University Press, 1896. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 3s.*

**The Old Testament and Modern Life.**

*By Stopford A. Brooke. 8vo, pp. 351. London: Isbister & Company, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 6s.*

No better guide to these three prophets could be wished than Dr Davidson's little book. His commentaries on Job and Ezekiel are perhaps the best in this excellent series, and the present work is equal to its predecessors. There are certain qualities which the writer has accustomed us to expect in his books. In addition to the technical familiarity with all the shades of Hebrew language, grammar, and syntax, there is always a mastery of clear and nervous English, a perfectly trained historical sense, an admirable exegetical tact, a profound insight into the inner workings of the Semitic mind, a Hebrew idealism and Scottish caution, and pervading all, a subtle and delicate spirit of irony. All these qualities will be found in this little work. The Introductions are full of interesting matter. After carefully examining the data for the different opinions as to the birthplace of Nahum, Dr Davidson concludes that the conflicting traditions leave the point quite uncertain (13). This is characteristically in contrast to Ewald's confidently expressed opinion: "Nahum was from Elgôsh, which is *without doubt* the little town of Algûsh, which is still found on the Tigris." Dr Davidson favours the view that the siege of Nineveh described by Nahum was the final one by Cyaxares and the Medes (608-6), rather than the futile attack by Phraortes (cir. 626) for which Ewald and others contend. The former theory certainly gives more reality and naturalness to the prophet's pictures of the siege. Dr Davidson pronounces on the whole in favour of the integrity of Habakkuk and Zephaniah, in opposition to Kuenen, Stade and other critics, who regard some passages as post-exilic. In the Introduction to Habakkuk he states important facts and principles with regard to subjective criticism. "The literature is far too scanty to enable us to trace the course of religious thought and language with any such certainty as to fix the dates at which particular ideas or expressions arose. . . . The argument that, if similar ideas occur in two passages or two writings, they may

be assigned to the same age, leaves no room for individuality in the different writers" (62). Dr Davidson is always brilliant in his expositions of the *ideas* of the prophets. He says that the prophecy of Nahum "is the voice of the human mind expressing its revolt against the spirit and deeds of the brutal foe of the human race, and might almost come from the heart of any of the oppressed nationalities trodden under the foot of the Assyrian. It is the blood, and the wiles . . . and the spirit of the wild beast that, in the name of mankind, the prophet appeals against." The writer does not suggest a parallel between the Assyrian and the Ottoman empire, but his readers will be reminded by these words that the spirit of the wild beast still lives in the East, and some of the prophet's extraordinarily vivid and vigorous pictures make one instinctively substitute Istamboul for Nineveh: "all that hear the bruit of thy downfall shall clap the hands over thee, for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" (iii. 19).

In criticism of the text, Dr. Davidson carefully notes the Sept. variants, many of which are simpler and more expressive than the Hebrew readings. He also gladly avails himself of the aid of Assyriology, though he by no means thinks that that science solves everything. A sentence from Esarhaddon's Senjirli inscription, "Memphis, his capital, I took by midday" (so translated by Schrader), suggests a new rendering of Zeph. ii. 4 (and Jer. xv. 8), "They shall drive out Ashdod *by midday*," which is more pointed than the old. The crux of Nahum is Huzzab (ii. 7). Dr. Davidson does not think that Assyriology has thrown any light upon her. His own suggestion that the word may be Hazzab, which from meaning a palanquin may have come to signify also the lady who rode therein, like the word for litter and lady in Arabic, is more plausible than anything else that has been suggested. The German *Frauenzimmer* got its meaning in the same way. Here and there (as Hab iii. 9, of which a hundred different translations have been offered) the text is pronounced so corrupt that "the multiplication of conjectures can serve no good purpose." In his notes the writer evidently aims at being suggestive rather than exhaustive. He does not think that the commentator should do all the reader's thinking. At p. 24 we find this significant remark: "The splendid words 'the clouds are the dust of His feet,' like the others 'the earth is His footstool,' need to be conceived, not explained." The old and best method of exegesis, that of explaining scripture by scripture, is the one most favoured here. But the writer's knowledge of other literatures, particularly of Arabic poetry, furnishes him with many illustrations of Hebrew modes of thought and expression, some of which, like the camel song at p. 77, are rather curious. For a parallel to the sceptical saying in Zeph. v. 12,



"The Lord will not do good, neither will he do evil," recourse is had to the philosophy of M. Renan (117).

Mr Stopford Brooke regards the "noble tales of life," which have gathered round a number of ancient names—Abraham, Hagar, Judah, Moses, Deborah, Samuel, David, Elijah—from a point of view that is more common now than it used to be. He thinks that the events and personages of the narratives are on the whole legendary (10). But he recognises that "the kind of existence, the religious, moral, and social temper of the personages, the human life . . . are all historical enough, even in the early tales" (17). He sees that "the tales are full of humanity, of various characters, of human adventures, temptations; of the natural joys and sorrows of mankind; and all this human life in its relation to God and the soul of man" (18). He believes that the humanity is far more universal than national or particular; and the tales survive, "because they can be made into symbols of human life, into images of the soul" (36). Therefore the writer "ignores them as history, and preaches on them as humanity." Now, as a matter of fact, these tales have been used by every preacher, from St Paul downwards, as parables of human life, giving vivid and concrete expression to religious doctrines and moral ideas. Only the preacher has scarcely faced the question, whether the characters and events are historically or—what may be of greater importance—ideally true? The historical criticism of the most ancient documents (such as J and E) shows that many of the ideas found in these narratives belonged to the age in which they were written, which was often a considerable time, in some cases many centuries, after the events recorded. For our part, we believe that tradition has a good deal more value than this writer allows. Many of the narratives bear evident traces of being a transcript of a vivid oral tradition, and they were probably used in oral religious instruction for centuries before they were committed to writing. But waiving that point—since this writer is really little concerned with matters of criticism—we find these Biblical studies full of interest. The author's verdict as to the value of the stories, which he regards simply as literature, is of great importance, for he is himself a poet of some distinction, and a student of English literature scarcely second to any living. He finds, as Herder found, that viewed simply as literature, these old-world stories are unmatched. Every reader will feel that Mr Brooke has a rare faculty for entering into the inner meaning and spirit of the Scriptures, while critics are made and legion, poets are born and few, and we trust this charming poet-preacher will give us more of these Biblical studies from his own literary point of view.

JAMES STRACHAN.

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel  
according to St Luke.**

*By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham, formerly Fellow and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. 590. Price, 12s.*

ANOTHER instalment of the important undertaking, the *International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments*, for which Dr Driver, Dr Plummer, and Dr Briggs are responsible, will be received with satisfaction. The present makes the fifth of the series as published, and the third of the New Testament section. It is by the diligent hand of one of the English editors. The man to whom any one of the Synoptical Gospels is entrusted in a series like this is to be congratulated. He has a difficult task indeed, and is placed in a position in which much is expected of him. But he has also a great opportunity. The criticism of these Gospels has reached a point and created a condition of things, which make it possible for one who is sufficiently master of the situation to give us something more than the ordinary type of Commentary. He has all the materials necessary for the production of a book with a distinct character and a fresh interest. He can take up his work with the feeling that he has at once the demand and the facilities for a treatment of his subject widely different from that with which we are familiar in Commentaries on the Synoptists. We already possess, it is true, a large number of Commentaries on the Third Gospel, and some of these are of recent date. But they are neither too many nor, generally speaking, quite abreast of the present situation. Two or three might at once be named as Commentaries of a high order, which stand out from the rest, but the great mass are little more than repetitions of each other, and come far short of being adequate to the occasion as things now stand. There is ample room, therefore, for a new Commentary, especially for one which will apply the results of the best criticism, not only to the historical problem, but continuously to the interpretation.

The volume now before us by Dr Plummer recognises what is looked for from a commentator on Luke who writes with a long and important critical movement in his eye. It makes a consistent and intelligent effort to meet what is expected. It does not profess to be in any sense a final exposition of Luke's Gospel, nor does it claim high things for itself. It passes by or notices but slightly a good deal that might be reckoned on in a Commentary which

undertakes to be critical as well as exegetical. This holds good in particular of the problems of the relations in which the Synoptical Gospels stand to each other. But there is a reason for this in the fact that the series is to include, as Dr Plummer intimates, a special Commentary on *The Synopsis of the Four Gospels* by Dr Sanday and Mr W. C. Allen. Even with these omissions the book is superior to most books on Luke in the variety of elements to which it has regard in its expositions. It has many solid qualities which make it a contribution to its subject, and a distinct addition to the exegetical literature of the New Testament. It endeavours to interpret the Third Gospel in the light of those views of its origin and its relations to the other Gospels which have found most acceptance with scholars in our day, and it makes a much nearer approach to the ideal Commentary for the time than can be said to be the case with the recent volume on St Mark's Gospel in the same series.

In its plan this Commentary differs in some things from that adopted by Dr Sanday and Mr Headlam in their Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. It dispenses with the paraphrastic summaries, and in most cases with the separate headings for subsections and special notes. The reader loses little by this. These things may be considerable aids to the student who wishes to follow a more or less reasoned statement, or to get at the connexions and limitations of a doctrinal paragraph. They are of less moment in the case of a narrative writing. Dr Plummer's Commentary, however, has features of its own. It recognises the value of the pseudepigraphical literature for the interpretation of the New Testament, and makes considerable use of it. This is a distinct gain, although the books so used are somewhat limited in number. It remains for future commentators to make all that should be made of this important and comparatively unwrought aid to the understanding of the New Testament writings. The Septuagint, and the Book of Acts, the Latin Versions, and the old English Versions, are laid under constant contribution, and made to yield many happy illustrations of the Evangelist's narrative. Much attention is also given to the marks of Luke's style. His command of Greek is carefully examined. Elaborate tables are given, showing the number of expressions peculiar respectively to Luke himself, to Luke and Paul, to Luke and Hebrews, to Luke and Paul and Hebrews. Lists are given also of terms which may be medical, and a comparison is made between the diction of the Third Gospel and the phraseologies of Matthew and Luke. This is all done with great care. It must have cost much labour. One is almost tempted to regret that it has obtained so large a proportion of space. But it has its value, as Dr Plummer very well explains,

and it yields some very interesting results, which illustrate the versatility of Luke, the richness of his vocabulary, the freedom of his constructions, his fondness for particular words and combinations of words.

One of the most satisfactory sections of this large discussion of questions of style and diction is one which deals with the *medical phraseology* in Luke's writings. This interesting and comparatively new line of inquiry, to which attention was specially directed by a remarkable paper in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1841, is handled here with great good sense. It is one in which the fancy is tempted to run riot, and writers like Dr Plumtre and Dr Hobart, who have taken it up with most zeal and have most felt its attractions, have undoubtedly been drawn into much that is doubtful or exaggerated. Dr Plummer sees how misleading Dr Hobart's elaborate lists are, when they are presented by themselves without regard to the occurrences of the words in the Septuagint (and in other books, perhaps, which Luke may be supposed to have known), and how hazardous it is in many cases to attribute Luke's use of particular terms to his professional training. These lists, therefore, have to be greatly reduced. Dr Plummer points out, however, that we have still a considerable number of words and expressions which survive the test of a comparison with the language of the Septuagint, especially in parts of that Version probably most familiar to Luke. In the case of these, he rightly says, the argument is a cumulative one. "Any two or three instances of coincidences with medical writers may be explained as mere coincidences; but the large number of coincidences renders this explanation unsatisfactory for all of them, especially where the word is either rare in LXX, or not found there at all." We are left, therefore, with a fair number of terms which are best explained as due to the fact that the writer was a physician. The list in *The Gentleman's Magazine* included ἀχλὺς, κραιπάλη, παραλελυμένος, παροξυσμός, συνεχόμενη πυρετῶ μεγάλῳ, and ὕδρωπικός. Dr Plummer points out that ἀχλὺς, which occurs only once in the New Testament and not at all in the Septuagint, is repeatedly used by Galen in treating of diseases of the eye; that in medical writings κραιπάλη often denotes the nausea after excess; and that παραλελυμένος, which is used by Luke where the other Gospels have παραλυτικός, is used also by Aristotle, a physician's son, and yet may not be a certain case, as it may be due to the Septuagint, as in Heb. xii. 2. The other terms seem to be clearly medical, the last one, ὕδρωπικός, being distinctly so and peculiar to Luke as far as Biblical Greek is concerned. To these Dr Plummer would add δακτύλῳ προσψαύειν (xi. 46), διὰ τρήματος βελόνης (xviii. 25), ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος (viii. 44), ἑσπερεύθησαν αἱ βάσεις

αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σφυδρά (Acts x. 11); also (though less certainly) ὁθόνην τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιέμενον (Acts x. 11) and ἀνεκάθισεν (vii. 14; Acts ix. 40). Those who have looked with some care into this matter will appreciate the judgment with which Dr Plummer has handled it; and will agree with him in his conclusions.

The Introduction contains many things which invite remark. The argument in favour of the Lucan authorship is very well stated. With regard to the objection, still urged by Jülicher, from the silence of Papias, reference is made to the passage in the *Hexaëmeron* of Anastasius Sinaiticus, in which "Papias is mentioned as an ancient interpreter, and in which Luke x. 18 is quoted in illustration of an interpretation," the illustration being possibly borrowed from Papias. How hazardous it is, too, to conclude from the absence of Luke's name in the very few fragments of Papias which we possess, that he was "not mentioned in the much larger portions which perished," is very properly pointed out. We miss any criticism of Professor Ramsay's view that Luke was a native of Philippi, and the very man of Macedonia whom Paul saw in his vision (Acts xvi. 9). But with respect to the ancient tradition that Luke belonged by family to the Syrian Antioch, the passage in Eusebius (H.E. iii. 4, 7) is rightly taken not to mean of necessity more than that Luke had a family connexion with that city, but on the other hand not to amount to an assertion that he was not a native of it. And in confirmation of Jerome's statement—*Lucas medicus Antiochensis*, two pertinent facts are noticed. These are—*first*, that only in the case of one of the deacons is the locality to which he belonged mentioned, "Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch" (vi. 5), while other things show us that the writer knew Antioch and was interested in it (xi. 19-27, xiii. 1, xiv. 19, 21, 26, xv. 22, 23, 30, 35, xviii. 22); and *second*, that "of eight narratives of the Russian campaign of 1812, three English, three French, and two Scotch, only the last (Alison and Scott) state that the Russian General, Barclay de Tolly, was of Scotch extraction."

In dealing with the problem of the Sources of Luke's Gospel, Dr Plummer makes a very cautious estimate of the length to which internal evidence will carry us. As to the question whether the Evangelist's information was mainly oral or mainly documentary, he bids us consider how small the difference between the oral and the documentary must be when oral tradition has assumed a stereotyped form. He thinks no certain conclusion is possible as to the amount of material which Luke had at his disposal, but that the probability is that most of it, even most of what is peculiar to the Third Gospel, had taken written form when the Evangelist used it. He holds that the absence of narratives like that of the visit of the Wise



Men, and passages like Matt. xxi. 43, xxiv. 14, &c., as well as the peculiar differences which appear between the First Gospel and the Third, are proof sufficient that Luke did not know Matthew's Gospel, or at least was not familiar with it. As regards the Second Gospel he admits that Luke may have had it "pretty nearly in the form in which we have it, and may include the author of it among the πολλοί (I. 1)." But he is careful to point out at the same time that there are some things (*e.g.* the omission of Mk. ii. 27, vi. 45—viii. 9, &c.) which are "rather against this." The question of an *Ebionite* source is decidedly negatived. He is of opinion that there is nothing to show that the passages on which that theory is based come from a special source, and he very properly dismisses the whole idea of an *Ebionite* element in Luke, on which writers have spent much misdirected energy, by showing that the protest of the Third Gospel, with all its sympathy for the poor of this world, is against worldliness, not against wealth in itself.

In dealing with the questions of Date and Place, Dr Plummer gives a summary of recent discussions on the relation of Luke to Josephus, and rightly concludes with Sanday, Schürer, and most, that the differences between the two writers are so marked and the resemblances so far from admitting of only one explanation, that we must say that Luke did not know Josephus, or that, if he had read him, he had soon forgotten him. The date which he supports is one between the two extremes of A.D. 63 and A.D. 100, probably A.D. 75-80. Some excellent paragraphs are given to an exposition of the characteristics of the Gospel, and to the question in what degree it is history and not memoirs, and in what sense the qualities of *comprehensiveness, universality, domesticity, literary form*, are to be ascribed to it. In the list of commentaries we miss some that might have found a place, *e.g.*, Riddle's in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*. In the list of Abbreviations we find Cremer's *Lexicon*, but not Thayer's Grimm's *Wilkei Clavis*, and Winer's *Grammar*, but not the more scientific work of A. Buttmann.

The strong and useful qualities which belong to the discussions of the literary and historical questions in the Introduction, are seen again in the detailed exegesis, and in the Special Notes. Of the latter there is a considerable number. They deal sometimes with particular terms, *e.g.*, the use of ἐγένετο, the word ἀνάληψις, the phrase δευτεροπρώτῳ; sometimes with larger topics, Demoniac Possession, the Idea of Hades or Sheol in the Old Testament, the Apocalypse of Jesus, the Sermon ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινού, &c. They are never too lengthy, but put the student in possession just of what he requires, giving useful and well-informed digests of the points at issue. The exegesis is not burdened or biassed by appeals to the authority of the Fathers, but is strictly gram-

matical and historical. It would be too much to expect that in every case it will hit the mark. There are some passages which we should interpret differently, and some in which we get less than might be expected. The statement on the title *The Son of Man*, e.g., is scarcely sufficient. More might have been said on the *leprosy* of the Gospels. What is said of the incident in the Temple (ch. ii. 49), and of other passages bearing upon our Lord's consciousness, will be felt, we think, to be short of the reality. The descent of the Spirit on our Lord after His baptism is explained to have had two purposes. (1) To "make Him known to the Baptist, who thenceforward had Divine authority for making Him known to the world," and (2) to "mark the official beginning of the ministry, like the anointing of a King." To us it seems to have been this and more—to have meant the impartation of the gifts necessary for the discharge of His Messianic vocation.

It would be easy, however, to give many instances of just and penetrating interpretation. We might refer, e.g., to the expositions of the Benedictus and the Magnificat, the narratives of Zaccheus and the Purging of the Temple, the notes on the ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, the Lord's Prayer, the Parable of the Pounds, the visits to Nazareth, &c. One pleasing feature of the book is the large use of historical matter in illustration of Luke's narrative. Excellent examples of the happy introduction of references to contemporary events in secular history will be found in what is said of Archelaus, Tiberius, Lysanias and others.

In one thing in which commentaries, especially those by French and German scholars, are often weak, this book is particularly strong. That is, in all that belongs to the criticism of the text. Dr Plummer has been trained in the historical school of Textual Criticism, and knows both the materials and the principles of the science. Considerable space is given to questions of the Lower Criticism, and they are admirably handled. It would be easy to multiply instances in point. It is enough to mention the excellent note on the reading εὐδοκίας in the Gloria, and still more to those on the clause τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον . . . ἐκχυνόμενον in ch. xxiv. 19b, 20, and the disputed passage in Luke's narrative of the Agony in the Garden (ch. xxii. 43, 44). With regard to the last, Dr Plummer's conclusion is that the widespread omission can be explained neither by excision for doctrinal reasons nor by Lectionary practice; that the passage may be regarded as probably a Western insertion in the text of Luke; and that it may be retained as a "genuine portion of historical tradition."

We have said enough to indicate some of the outstanding merits of Dr Plummer's Commentary. It is distinguished throughout by

learning, sobriety of judgment, and sound exegesis. It is a weighty contribution to the interpretation of the Third Gospel, and will take an honourable place in the series of which it forms part.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Horn's I Dagens Strid og Tidstanker.**

*Af Dr E. F. B. Horn. Christiania: Hjalmar Biglers Forlag.*  
*Vol. I. I Dagens Strid, pp. 150; Vol. II. Tidstanker, pp. 145.*  
*Svo. Price, 6 kroner 40 öre.*

THERE is no more versatile or erudite philosopher and theologian in Norway than Dr Horn. He seems at home in almost every department of thought, and the list of his books is as varied as it is long. The Essays and Lectures that go to make up *I Dagens Strid* (Questions of the Day) and *Tidstanker* (Thoughts for the Times) all owe their existence to certain of the phenomena and fermenting thoughts of the present day. The point in every case lies in the psychological-religious domain. He hopes that the picture of the future he unfolds contains some help towards conciliation and concord.

It is not often we find a writer expressing his religious belief and opinions so scientifically and philosophically as Dr Horn. In one place he writes that he starts from what he regards as the progress in Herbert Spencer, by his drawing attention to the rhythms both in the physical and in the moral life. He considers Spencer's position to be an advance beyond the old positivism, and also beyond Darwinism, which does not reach higher than to look upon existence as a continual struggle between unequal forces in widely different directions (the law of the Parallelogram of Forces). The existence of such a universal law is an occult rhythm, and this rhythm Spencer pointed out and asserted. That, however, does not give us all the help we need. Every rhythmic movement is only possible round a symmetric centre. Leibnitz regards existence as perfectly symmetric. God is the central monad, around which all poorer and imperfect monads symmetrically group themselves. A republic is symmetric in its idea, and is so far an advance, for all the citizens are equal, and one vote is as good as another. But it lacks unity, cohesion around a centre. Such a centre is found in the person of the king in a monarchy. In the religious domain Christ is the centre, the central monad, round which the Churches symmetrically gather; round the Churches again, with a longer radius, the rest of humanity; and round humanity in turn, with longer radius still, the remainder of creation. He draws attention to the fact that Professor Drum-

mond has asserted this symmetric fundamental idea when he considers existence to resemble a huge pyramid, whose base is the whole broad world. This pyramid rises higher in ever narrower circles, as the good and the strong outlive the bad and the weak, the few elect survive the many called, until the highest peak of the pyramid is reached—Jesus Christ. Christ, therefore, is the one towards whom we are to grow up, for He is the symmetric centre. In all his books Horn says he has kept that principle in view, more or less distinctly, and it can be traced in each chapter of the volumes before us. He acknowledges that the old orthodox theology certainly did regard God and Christ as the centre of existence, but it did not place this symmetric idea in connection with rhythms, and thereby in connection with the Parallelogram of Forces. The idea of God as the centre of all things is therefore severed from its connection with the laws of nature. Nature and the laws of nature have for God no validity or existence. He can at any moment act independently of them. So it was thought; and so there arose in the whole theology and in the religious life an affectation that could only be removed by observing the close connection between these categories—Symmetry, Rhythm, Parallelogram of Forces. Horn considers that all he has set forth in his books lies in the line of continuation of the development from positivism and Darwinism (the Parallelogram of Forces), through Herbert Spencer (the Rhythm) to Henry Drummond (the Symmetry). In this way we pass from the materialistic view of life to an idealistic and spiritual. But the latter cannot dis sever itself from the former, as the old orthodox theology allowed. Horn's endeavour, so far as Norwegian theology is concerned, has been to combat the pitiful vagueness and affectation which have resulted from ignorance of the connection between religion and positivism, between spirit and nature; for Norwegian theologians seem to have too much overlooked positivism, or regarded it as an enemy. Darwin and Spencer have been placed on the Scandinavian Lutheran Church's Index Expurg., and even Professor Drummond has been denounced by the orthodox. Horn would like to bring about a mutual understanding between those whose aims are supposed to be the same, but who have been at daggers drawn, instead of seeing eye to eye. He hopes that if his readers should not everywhere find their accustomed dogmas and tenets, they will yet see that there is something left to them after all, and be able to set just the higher value upon what remains.

These two volumes try to answer the question—How shall a Christian culture be secured; how are we to get great Christian personalities who shall be able to give form to the age? Dr Horn says that "Christianity, the great goal of religion, is the same as that of culture." The image of God consisted in man getting the

power and the command to subdue the earth, to ennoble every living thing. That is fulfilled by religion and culture acting internally and externally respectively. The one cannot for any length of time do without the other. To attain the goal demands an infinitely continued work under more perfect conditions, the richer and richer unfolding of personality, and of the community through personality.

The chief topics treated of in *I Dagens Strid og Tidstanker* are "Progressive Thought," "The influence Luther has had on culture" (a most admirable deliverance), "The Son of Man" (claiming more attention to Christ's humanity), "The Son of God," "Unitarianism," "Spiritualism" (which he thinks distinctly deserving of careful study and undeserving of indiscriminate detraction), "The Descent of Man" (in which he shows that although he does not consider the arboreal ancestry of man quite proved, yet he cannot understand why there is such repugnance to the mere idea that men are only very highly organised monkeys. He thinks that those evolutionists go too far who hold that the transition from brute to man has been so infinitely long and continuous as sufficiently to explain language, reason, self-consciousness as emanating from animal cries and instincts. Horn holds that a new quality in nature frequently suddenly asserts itself, as when water boils at a certain temperature. The succession is not interrupted, but something new comes in. Self-consciousness might have thus suddenly appeared), "Seriousness and Humour," "Björnson's drama *Over Evne*" (i.e. Ultra Vires), "Arne Garborg's *Trøtte Mænd*" (i.e. Weary Men), "Thomas Carlyle," and "Henry Drummond."

Horn holds that there is hardly any one who had a keener eye for the characteristic imperfections of the age, or scourged them with greater thoroughness, than Carlyle. "You see in him," he says, "an ethical zeal which has a strengthening and refreshing effect on the reader. To read Carlyle is like mounting a lofty hill amid clear, pure air, and although stiff breezes blow around you, yet you can breathe deeply and see far on every side." However, he feels compelled to draw the line at some of Carlyle's singularities and exaggerations. "It would be an affront to my readers were I to point out what is crooked and unnatural in Carlyle." But it would certainly have been useful to many Norwegians and interesting to us to know to what he specially refers.

The article on Henry Drummond is one of the very best in the volumes. It is distinctly appreciative; it shows an intimate acquaintance with Drummond's works, but is written before Horn had seen *The Ascent of Man*. It is quite apparent that many of Drummond's books have an extensive circulation in Scandinavia, and that several volumes have already appeared dealing in whole or in part with his work and views. Horn stands forth as an apologist for



Drummond, although, as has already been indicated, the orthodox Lutherans in Norway look suspiciously on the teaching of the author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. He does not deny that there are weak spots in Drummond's teaching, a one-sidedness in his Gospel; for instance, he finds hardly anything about the Atonement, and so little about the Trinity that Drummond's disciples might fall away to Unitarianism. On the whole, however, he thinks that the objections to Drummond's presentation of the truth are due to misunderstandings which might be avoided if readers would regard the writings from the author's own standpoint, and remember that Drummond was not trained as a theologian but as a naturalist. There is one striking objection to Drummond's teaching which Horn rather suggests than makes, viz., that according to that teaching a *historic actual Christ need not have existed or still exist*. He acknowledges that to properly discuss this objection would require a thorough examination of Drummond's religious sentiments and point of view. He reserves the matter for a subsequent occasion, hinting that there is perhaps hardly sufficient material in Drummond's writings yet to allow of a satisfactory conclusion. But any such discussion would be more academical than conclusive, for he adds—"Only this much is certain, that Drummond himself is profoundly convinced of the reality of the personal Christ, even if perhaps the theology he has set forth may leave us in some uncertainty about its ultimate consequences."

There is a freshness and an independence about Horn that are very charming. He has his own opinions and is not to be trammelled by old dogmas; he thinks the old orthodoxy has served its day and generation, and he is prepared to maintain that the Athanasian Creed bears no likeness whatever to the picture of the Trinity set forth in holy writ. Horn's style is generally perspicuous, often epigrammatic, and not seldom genial. A keen intellect is everywhere apparent, but there is here and there a trace of pedantry, especially in *I Dagens Strid*, noticeable in other ways, but chiefly by the use of quotations from various languages without any translation or paraphrase being given. Footnotes have been in other cases given when necessary, and translations of the quotations deserved a place among them. From the tenor of these and other volumes of Horn's we see in him ever the champion of the weak and the oppressed, and we notice that the mantle of his charity is very broad.

It is interesting to us in this country to hear from such a thinker as Dr Horn an acknowledgment like this: "I owe much to English and Scotch philosophers, such as Berkeley, Spencer, Carlyle and Drummond, but especially to the last two. As a consequence it will be found in my teaching not so much that I seek to form

systems of views which can scarcely ever be exhaustive, as that I attempt, mainly by pictures of what is real, to help forward the eternal in the individual."

JNO. BEVERIDGE.

### Notices.

AN addition of great importance is made to the well-known *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. The original undertaking, which was brought to a successful issue now a good many years ago under the editorship of Drs Donaldson and Roberts, aimed at furnishing the English reader with translations of all the writings of the Fathers of the Christian Church prior to the Council of Nicaea. The scheme was a large and difficult one, and it was carried out in a way that reflected great credit on Scotch enterprise and Scotch scholarship. Within the last few years, however, our knowledge of early Christian literature has been much extended. Remarkable finds have been made in unexpected ways, and works of the greatest interest have come into our hands, the recovery of which had been little more than a dream. It was a happy thought, then, to supplement the great series of translations of the Ante-Nicene Fathers by the preparation of a volume putting the English reader in possession of these newest discoveries. This is what is done for us in the handsome book now issued under the editorial care of the Rev. Allan Menzies, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in St Mary's College, St Andrews.<sup>1</sup> Opportunity is taken at the same time to give a further instalment of Origen. It was found impracticable to include the voluminous works of the great Alexandrian in the original series. A selection had to be made, and it was limited to a few of his most outstanding writings, the *De Principiis*, the *Contra Celsum*, and others sufficient to make up two volumes. Various things, however, have contributed of late to a revived interest in the theology of Origen, and the publishers have done well in giving in the second division of this volume an additional selection from his writings, consisting of his letter to Gregory, and his Commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and John. The latter have a particular value as examples on a considerable scale of Origen's methods of interpretation. It is the first part of the book, however, that will naturally attract most attention. It begins with the

<sup>1</sup> Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Additional volume, containing early Christian works discovered since the completion of the series, and selections from the Commentaries of Origen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. iv. 533. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

*Gospel of Peter*, the translation being by Professor Armitage Robinson of Cambridge. A Synoptical Table of the four Canonical Gospels and the *Gospel of Peter*, drawn up by the Rev. Andrew Rutherford, is added. This is followed by Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the translation, which is from the hand of the Rev. Hope W. Hogg, being from the Arabic Text edited by Ciasca in 1888. We are thus placed in the advantageous position of having three versions of the *Diatessaron*—Ciasca's Latin, Mr Hamlyn Hill's translation of that into English, and this independent rendering of the Arabic into English.

Then comes the series of Apocalypses and Romances, including the *Revelation of Peter*, the *Vision of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, all translated by Mr Rutherford; as also the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena*, and the *Narrative of Zosimus*, translated by Mr W. A. Craigie. In addition to all this, we have the *Epistles of Clement*, reprinted from the first volume of the *Ante-Nicene Library*, and completed by the Rev. John Keith from Bryennius's edition of 1875; and a duplicate version of the *Apology of Aristides*, by the Rev. D. M. Kay, the translation from the Greek text as we have it in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, and the translation of the Syriac text discovered and edited by Professor Rendel Harris, being placed in parallel columns.

Brief Introductions are given to all these writings, sufficient to acquaint the English reader with the essentials of the several subjects. So far as we have yet been able to test it, the work appears to be carefully done. The volume should make an important and welcome addition to the library of many a student.

Bishop Dahle's *Livet efter Döden* has already been noticed in this Journal.<sup>1</sup> We are glad to have it now in an English translation from the hand of one who is well acquainted with Norse. The translation reads so well that one forgets it is a translation, and the book itself is worth introducing to English readers. *Life after Death, and the Future of the Kingdom of God*,<sup>2</sup> as the title runs, is the work of a man who deserves to be known beyond the limits of his own country. Having consecrated himself to the cause of Missions when a youth of twenty, he was trained for his vocation in the Missionary College at Stavanger and in the University of Christiania, in which latter institution he devoted himself with special zeal to Old Testament and Semitic Studies under Professor Caspari. For some eighteen years he laboured in Madagascar, becoming

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 294, etc.

<sup>2</sup> By Bishop Lars Nielsen Dahle, Knight of St Olaf. Translated by the Rev. John Beveridge, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 455, Price, 10s. 6d.

Bishop of the Norwegian Missionary Church there in 1877. Compelled by failing health to leave Madagascar in 1888, he has been engaged at home since then in directing the missionary work of the Norwegian Church. He has written much, not only on questions of popular religious interest, but on Philology, Folk-Lore, Theology, and other subjects. His *Life after Death* is his most considerable effort in the province of Theology, and it is one of the best contributions to Theological literature which have been made by Norwegian divines in recent times. It is written in an easy, flowing, popular style, which carefully avoids all technical language and all the details of scholarship. This makes it a book which all can read with intelligence and profit. It has the disadvantage, however, of leaving us with an inadequate view of the scientific basis of many of its conclusions, in particular in the vital question of the interpretation of important passages of Scripture. The discussion runs in three parts. The first deals with the Future of the Individual; the second, with the Future of God's Kingdom on the Earth; the third with the End. The least satisfactory sections are those which are given to the *Events preparing for the End*, and the *Great Events at the Time of the End*. One grudges the amount of space and pains spent on a multitude of curious questions concerning the millennium, the events which are to take place in the Kingdom of God between the present day and the Judgment, the order in which they are to take place, the intervals by which they are to be separated, the time each of them is to last, the position to be occupied by converted Israel, the last conflict, and the like. It is different with the sections in which such subjects as death, immortality, the resurrection, the judgment, the final issues, are considered. On these Bishop Dahle says much that is to the point. His own theological position is that of a good but not rigid Lutheran. With the exception of some things in Part Second and a measured kind of inclination towards modern spiritualism, the discussions are, generally speaking, as sober as they are reverent. They aim, too, at being strictly Biblical, at keeping "a clear distinction between what is actually revealed to us in Scripture, what is only hinted at, and what is simply the result of more or less ingenious human speculation."

In connection with the Luther Quater-Centenary in 1884, Principal Wace, along with Professor Buchheim, published a volume on *The First Principles of the Reformation, or The Primary Works of Luther*. The publication was a seasonable one, and the reception given it was so far a test of the Protestant spirit of the English people. It is certainly not less but much more necessary now even than it was then, to bring home again to the English mind the great evangelical truths which made the pulse of the German Reformation. It is a thing to be grateful for, therefore, that we

have now another publication of the same kind, but with enlarged contents, issued by the same editors, under the title of *Luther's Primary Works*.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the three classical treatises of the critical year 1520, the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Concerning Christian Liberty*, and *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, the volume includes Luther's *Short Catechism*, his *Greater Catechism*, and the *Ninety-five Theses*. Two Essays of very considerable interest are given in an Appendix, one by Dr Wace on *The Primary Principles of Luther's Life and Teaching*, and another by Dr Buchheim on *The Political Course of the Reformation in Germany (1517-1546)*. The translations are executed with the utmost care, and deserve all praise. It is not only that they are faithful. They give us a remarkably good idea of the wonderful style of the originals. The Editors express the hope that "this attempt to let the voice of the great Reformer be heard more clearly in England may, for various reasons, be opportune at the present time, and that it may assist to the better apprehension of those cardinal principles on which, alike in England and in Germany, true 'Christian Liberty' can alone be securely based." That it is "opportune" admits of little doubt. May the further hope of its usefulness in helping the English people to stand for the "Christian Liberty" which made both Germany and England great in the sixteenth century, be amply realised!

The Articles of the English Church have been the subject of several treatises of recent date. Quite lately we have had the *Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England* by Dr Maclear and Mr W. W. Williams, and the first volume of the Rev. E. C. Gibson's *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England explained*. We have now another contribution to the same subject from the pen of the Rev. E. Tyrrell Green, M.A.<sup>2</sup> The book is the result of studies prosecuted by the writer in the discharge of his professional duties as Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew in St David's College, Lampeter. It aims at giving a "historical and doctrinal exposition in the light of contemporary documents." Its plan, therefore, is to compare the English Articles with other Symbols belonging to the same period. Each Article is presented both in the English version and in the Latin; its source is next investigated; its object is declared; and each of its clauses is then expounded, the Scripture proof being also summarily stated. A sketch of the formularies which were issued during the course of

<sup>1</sup> Translated into English, edited, with Theological and Historical Essays, by Henry Wace, D.D., etc., and C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 492. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation*. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 456. Price, 10s. 6d.



the English Reformation is prefixed. The volume closes with a series of Appendices, giving a Table of Confessions of Faith, a Comparison of the Bishop's Book and King's Book, Extracts showing the change in Cranmer's opinions, the text of the first fifteen Articles as revised by the Westminster Assembly, the text of Bishop Geste's Letter on Article XXVIII., the text of the Irish Articles of 1615, and translations of passages quoted from documents. The author makes every effort to give the historical meaning of the Articles, the historical facts of their composition, and the points in which they differ from the corresponding definitions of other Churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. He has not succeeded, we think, in doing justice to the Calvinistic formularies in every point. But his exposition is in general both fair and well-founded. The objective side of Christ's work is fully recognised, though it is not stated with complete precision. "His sacrifice," it is said, "accomplished something for us before it was presented to us as an object of faith; it effected something for mankind (1 John ii. 2). The subjective impression on man's heart is an after-thing, following upon faith in that eternal work." There is a disposition to claim for the doctrine of the Intermediate State a position which Scripture itself does not give it. The book has a place of its own among works of the same kind. It will make a handy and useful student's manual on its subject.

Mr J. M. Rigg of Lincoln's Inn has completed what has evidently been a work of love by the publication of his *St Anselm of Canterbury: A Chapter in the History of Religion*.<sup>1</sup> We have already an abundant literature on the great Churchman and his most important works, the *Cur Deus Homo* above all. Mr Rigg has used most of these earlier writings, though not all. He refers to the Lives or Studies by Möhler, Montalembert, Rémusat, Charma, Church, Croset-Mouchet, Mr Martin Rule, and Père Ragey. This is a good list, but by no means a complete one. The works by Veder, Franck, and Hasse, *e.g.*, are unnoticed, and there is no evidence of sufficient acquaintance with the treatment which Anselm has received at the hands of philosophical and theological authorities like Ritter, Prantl, Braniss, Erdmann, and Baur. Full advantage, however, has been taken of the writings of men like Milman, Freeman, Gregorovius, and Giesebrecht in constructing the historical background. Anselm's own letters, Eadmer's *Historia* and *De Vita*, the old Chronicles, and other ancient sources have been consulted, some of them evidently with much care. The result is a vivid portraiture of the man and his times, his relations with Lanfranc, Henry I. and others, his work as a teacher and thinker, his struggles, his troubles, and the closing peace. The narrative and descriptive sections, espe-

<sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. 294. Price, 7s. 6d.

cially the accounts of Anselm's active life, and the conditions of Church and State, are the best parts of the book. Those dealing with his philosophy and theology, though sufficiently interesting, are less satisfactory. The volume is written in an engaging style, and can claim a place of its own in the large literature of its subject.

Three parts of the fourth volume of the excellent series of *Texts and Studies* are now to hand. The first deals with *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*.<sup>1</sup> It is a study which we owe to the prizes offered by the late Bishop Lightfoot to the Junior Clergy of Durham. It ventures into ground which Waterland made his own, and grapples with questions which have exercised many acute minds. It first states the positions held respectively by Waterland, Swainson, Lumby, Harnack, Ommaney, and Heurtley. It then gives an account of the manuscripts and testimonies of the eighth and ninth centuries, the early commentaries, the special question of the form of the text in the Fortunatus Commentary, and the evidence external and internal for the date and authorship. Then follow the Texts with a series of additional Notes and a good Index. The book is an exceedingly creditable study. Mr Burn is an acute critic of the two-portion theory and its underlying assumptions. His conclusions are generally in favour of the main points in the great argument by which Waterland sought to establish the positions that the *Quicumque* was drawn up by Hilary for the use of the Gallican clergy, was in the hands of Vincentius Lerinensis before 434, became famous enough by the year 570 to be commented on like the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and had the admired name of Athanasius attached to it some time before 670.

The second part of this fourth volume is the equally careful work of a specialist in Coptic,<sup>2</sup> Mr Forbes Robinson of Christ's College, Cambridge. It is a difficult task that has been assigned him, and the literature to which he introduces us is curious, not to say often grotesque. Mr Robinson claims some importance, however, for it, on account of the peculiarities of its form, its strongly-marked features, and the period in our Lord's life to which it refers. For while the Gospel Apocrypha in other languages "deal almost exclusively," as Mr Robinson reminds us, "with the history of our Lord's Infancy and Passion, or with the lives of Mary and Joseph," the Coptic Apocrypha refer to the period of the Ministry. The texts and translations contained in this volume are those of Sahidic Fragments of the Life of the Virgin, Bohairic Accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary, and a Bohairic Account of the Death of

<sup>1</sup> By A. E. Burn, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. xlix. 68. Price, 5s. net.

<sup>2</sup> Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. Translations, together with the texts of some of them. Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 264. Price, 9s. net.

Joseph. Other Sahidic Fragments are also given, and Explanatory Notes are added. The book has much in it that will be of interest to others besides Coptic students. Mr Robinson deserves our thanks for his painstaking work in an unfamiliar field.

The third part of the same volume is of a different kind, and brings us into the province of the Textual Critic. It is a Study of *The Old Latin and the Itala*,<sup>1</sup> by Mr F. C. Burkitt, M.A. In connexion with his main subject Mr Burkitt gives us a number of things for which scholars will be heartily grateful. He republishes the St Gallen fragments of Jeremiah from the manuscript, Tischendorf's transcript being both inaccurate and difficult to get at. He gives the literary history of the book of Job in Latin, and restates the evidence for the use of the Septuagint version of Daniel in the early Latin Church. He gives also important notes on the "Western" interpolations in the Gospels, St Augustine and Felix the Manichee, the Gospel text in the *De Consensu*, the preservation of Augustine's text in extant MSS. of the New Testament, and other matters of special interest to the critic. A concise account, too, is furnished of the Old Latin, its manuscripts, the "African" and "European" texts of the Gospels, and the great interpolations found in early Latin texts. All this is done in a careful and scholarly fashion, without needless parade of learning. The thing of greatest interest, however, is the attempt to revive the old explanation of the *Itala* of Augustine which identified it with the Vulgate. If Mr Burkitt were successful in this, we should have to alter our ideas of the composition of the New Testament in the African Church of the fifth century. What then are his arguments? Among other things he points to the fact that, when Felix the Manichee appeared for trial at Hippo in 404 A.D., Augustine read out to him the New Testament account of the coming of the Holy Spirit as contained in Luke and Acts; that the passages so selected are contained *in extenso* in our MSS. of Augustine *Contra Felicem*; and that the one from Luke proves to be pure Vulgate, while the one from Acts is in the text of Cyprian—"the very oldest form of the African known to us." From this he concludes that the codex of the Gospels used by Augustine was a Vulgate codex, while that of Acts was an Old Latin codex; and that thus we have reason to say that "by 404 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, while in some other books of the Bible such as the Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used." He also collects a large body of evidence showing that the text of the *De Consensu* was based exclusively on the Vulgate, and he gives a number of reasons for not taking the term "*Itala*" as the designation of a particular Old Latin text. The various lines of argument used by Mr Burkitt, it must be

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. viii. 96. Price, 3s. net.  
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admitted, have some weight. They are worked out with great ability, and the evidence taken from the *De Consensu* itself is of special significance. The question, nevertheless, can scarcely be taken as settled. For one thing, Mr Burkitt gives no satisfactory reason why Augustine should use the particular term *Italia*, if he had nothing in view but the Vulgate. He has also to admit that his argument holds good only for the text of the Gospels in Augustine's later works, and that the extant evidence tends to show only that "during Augustine's Episcopate, from about 400 A.D. onwards, the Church at Hippo read the Gospels from Jerome's version, though for the Acts it retained a very pure form of the Old African Latin." The number of Augustine's works to which he appeals is only three, all written a little before or after 400 A.D. The question of the condition of the texts in these writings does not seem to be sufficiently considered.

It is pleasant to see that by the enterprise of Oxford scholarship the important series of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* is being continued. Each of the previous volumes contained more than one paper of permanent worth. The fourth volume,<sup>1</sup> which is now before us, is also one to which scholars will be glad to refer. It has more than the others had, however, that is addressed to the specialist. The opening paper, which is by Canon Hicks of Manchester, deals with *St Paul and Hellenism*. It is brief and sprightly. It gives a remarkably compact and telling account of what Hellenism meant in respect of fusion of races, unity of languages, union of cities in a great monarchy, and religious toleration and comprehension; of the time it took to realise these ideas; and of the significance of Hellenism in its bearing upon the Jews. It is equally interesting in what it says of Paul's relation to Hellenism. It seems to us, however, to exaggerate the Hellenic element in Paul, especially as regards his teaching and his methods of exposition. To say, *e.g.*, that 1 Cor. iv. 8 reminds one of "Stoic phrases about the philosopher king," that Paul has much that is Aristotelian in his logic, and that 1 Cor. xiii. recalls the "description of the virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*" appears to us little less than extraordinary. Professor Ramsay follows with what will be to many the most interesting contribution in the volume, a paper on *The "Galatia" of St Paul and the Galatic Territory of Acts*. It gives a clear and forcible restatement of the case in favour of the South Galatian theory, taking up the criticisms and counter-arguments of other scholars, especially those of Schürer, Chase, and Zöckler. It is so well put that one reads and feels convinced.

<sup>1</sup> Essays chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism, by Members of the University of Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. 324. Price, 12s. 6d.

Yet the considerations which are urged on the other side, especially some of the points in Schürer's replies, make themselves felt again, and leave one still in a suspense of judgment. Professor Ramsay has won many converts to his view; and students who do not regard the question as finally settled must admit not only that they have had much to learn from his investigations, but that the South Galatian view has been raised to a position which it never had before. The time is come when some third party should summarise the two great lines of argument, and give a judicial estimate of the case as between Professor Ramsay with his followers and Professor Schürer with his. The third paper is on the *Acta Pilati*, and is by one eminently qualified for the task which it undertakes. It gives this curious Apocryphon in both the Greek text and the Latin, with brief explanatory footnotes and digests of various readings. In a learned dissertation prefixed to the texts Mr Conybeare deals with the question of the two recensions of the *Acta*, and adduces some strong reasons for regarding the one known as B as a later recension or overworking of the one called A. On the subject of the antiquity of the *Acta*, he speaks of Bishop Lightfoot's judgment as hasty, and thinks that the evidence of the fragment *De Latrone* ascribed to Aristides, together with the testimony of Justin and Tertullian, may bring it as far back as A.D. 130-150. The fourth and fifth papers are both of a very elaborate order. One is by Mr F. B. Bussell, on the *Purpose of the World-Process and the Problem of Evil as explained in the Clementine and Lactantian Writings in a System of Subordinate Dualism*. It discusses in a very learned way the question of the personality of God and His interest in the world—a question for which Mr Bussell, however, claims too much when he asserts it to have been the "main point at issue in the Ante-Nicene controversies and the cardinal doctrine of the Fathers in the first three centuries." The closing paper is by Mr E. W. Watson, on *The Style and Language of St Cyprian*. It is a paper on which a vast amount of pains must have been spent. It makes an exhaustive investigation of Cyprian's style in rhythm, alliteration, symmetry, the use of tropes, plays upon words, &c. It compares the writer also with Tertullian, Apuleius, and others. It is a laborious and valuable piece of work done by a specialist for specialists.

*The Hope of Israel*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to a volume in which the Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., reviews the argument from Prophecy. The book consists of a series of Warburtonian Lectures delivered in Lincoln's Inn Chapel in the years 1890-94. It is a republication of these Lectures as they appeared in *The Expository Times* in 1893-95, under the title of *Hebrew Prophecy and Modern Criticism*. The

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 218. Price, 3s. 6d.



author claims no more for his volume than that it may be accepted as a step in the direction of such a restatement of the argument from Old Testament Prophecy as the needs of the time require. That it is this at least may be frankly granted. Mr Woods has a just appreciation of the difficulty of the task. He has made a contribution to its discharge which, while very far from complete, will have its use. He gives a good popular statement of the critical view of Prophecy, the modifications of old ideas of the nature of the Prophetic word and its fulfilment, and the value of Prophecy as an aid to Christian faith. More than this it neither professes to do nor can be said to have effected. But this it does in an intelligent, candid, and instructive manner. It will help the understanding and relieve the difficulties of those to whom questions of the kind are still comparatively strange.

The useful commentary on the *Synoptical Gospels*,<sup>1</sup> contributed by Professor Nösgen of Rostock to Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzfassster Kommentar*, has reached its second edition. It has been carefully revised throughout in the light of the large literature which has appeared since its first issue. It has also been improved in some things belonging to plan as well as to execution. Each of the three Gospels is separately treated, Professor Nösgen finding it impracticable to work the three into a single exegesis. But all needless repetition is avoided. Much attention is given to the ideas which lie at the foundation of each of the three Gospels, but a sharper distinction is kept up between this part of the work and the detailed grammatical interpretation. The Synoptical problem in its most recent phases is stated and examined with admirable brevity and precision in the Introduction. A Table of Synoptical parallels is appended, indicating the relations in which the narratives stand to each other, and the measure of their unity. Otherwise this edition retains all the essential features of the former. It is a painstaking piece of work, which will be of use to many readers, and specially valued by those who are in agreement with the author's general principles.

Professor Carl Heinrich Cornill's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,<sup>2</sup> which formed the first part of the excellent *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, has been already favourably noticed in this Journal.<sup>3</sup> That it has met the needs of a large class is sufficiently shown by the fact that it is now in its fourth edition. It is a book which may not always carry us with it in its conclu-

<sup>1</sup> München, Beck, 1897. Lex. 8vo, pp. xiv. 447. Price, M.6.

<sup>2</sup> Dritte und vierte völlig neugearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xvi. 359. Price, M.5.

<sup>3</sup> The first edition in vol. ii., p. 31; the second in vol. iii., p. 97.

sions. But it certainly exhibits wide and exact acquaintance with its subject, and may be relied on for its digests of facts. It is the kind of compact, well-ordered statement of the literary questions of the Old Testament Scriptures which the student will be glad to have beside him. In this new issue the recent literature has been worked up, and the matter carefully revised.

A small publication which will well repay careful study comes in the form of a reprint of a suggestive paper on the Pauline doctrine of *The Righteousness of God*,<sup>1</sup> which was contributed by Professor G. Schnedermann of Leipzig to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*.

A volume on *The Apocatastasis*,<sup>2</sup> by S. W. Koelle, Dr Ph., is called by its author an "anticipated chapter" from a larger work on *The Goal of the Universe, how attained*. It states in a clear and decided tone the usual arguments in favour of the doctrine of a universal restitution, and attempts to repel the usual objections urged against that doctrine from Scripture and from reason.

With the view of helping students in the study of New Testament Introduction, Herr Wilhelm Vollert of the Gymnasium in Gera has prepared a series of Tables<sup>3</sup> which should be of much use. They are constructed on the plan of giving, under each book of the New Testament, a *vidimus* of fact and opinion as regards author, destination, characteristics, and historical testimony. An Appendix gives the Synoptic parallels, Luke being taken as basis. A chart is also added, showing in the case of each of the New Testament writings, the manuscripts applicable to it. The whole is done with care, and in a conservative spirit.

The edition of *The Book of Genesis*,<sup>4</sup> prepared by Professor G. Woosung Wade of St David's College, Lampeter, should be found of use by English readers who wish to have some knowledge of the findings of recent criticism. It gives a translation based upon the Authorised Version, and so printed as to indicate the parts of the narrative that belong to each of the main documents or sources affirmed by criticism. It gives also an introduction, dealing in a clear and informing way with the literary analysis, the question of mythical elements, and the patriarchal history. The materials have been drawn with much industry from the writings of most of our best critics, especially those of Delitzsch, Kuenen, Dillmann, and Driver.

<sup>1</sup> Der israelitische Hintergrund in der Lehre des Apostels Paulus von der Gerechtigkeit Gottes aus Glauben. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 16. Price, M.0.50.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Tabellen zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, M.1.40.

<sup>4</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 264. Price, 6s.

We have a further instalment of the very valuable series of *Old South Leaflets*,<sup>1</sup> which are being issued by the Directors of Old South Studies. The series amounts already to 74 numbers. The republications now to hand include some which are of special interest, e.g. No. 66, "Winthrop's Little Speech on Liberty"; No. 67, Cotton Mather's "The Bostonian Ebenezer"; No. 71, Columbus's "Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella."

A lecture is published by Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen on the Origin of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> It gives a concise and popular statement of those points in the history which may be regarded, in the judgment of most, as scientifically established.

A thesis on *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*<sup>3</sup> comes from Clyde W. Votaw, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago. It is based mainly upon the text of the Codex Vaticanus for both the Septuagint and the New Testament. It classifies in a useful way the various usages of the mood, and provides charts of these as they occur in the various books of the New Testament.

In *Jesus the Poet*<sup>4</sup> the Rev. J. Reid Howat gives us a series of readings on the metaphors and similes uttered by our Lord in the Gospels. We could have wished a better title for the book, but the studies are in good taste, always practically helpful, and often felicitously expressed. The most of them found on our Lord's words as given in Matthew. From Mark we have only one, on *The Clear Fire* (ch. ix. 49). In many cases the titles of the readings are very happy, e.g. *Branching Light* (Matt. v. 14), *Love in Two Letters* (Matt. vi. 12), *Fleece and Fang* (Matt. vii. 15). In some cases they are rather far-fetched, e.g. *Germiphobia* (Matt. xvi. 6). The readings are all commendably brief and pointed. They will be found interesting and edifying.

Professor Herkless, of the University of St Andrews, contributes a volume on *Richard Cameron*<sup>5</sup> to the *Famous Scots* series. He has had a somewhat difficult task; for, while the "Lion of the Covenant" is one of the most impressive figures in one of the most stirring passages in the religious history of Scotland, the materials for a biography are scanty. Professor Herkless has made the most of what is to be got from the registers of his own University, the Wodrow MSS., the session records of Falkland, and other sources. He has produced a very good book, well written,

<sup>1</sup> Boston, Mass.

<sup>2</sup> Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig; J. C. B. Mohr, 1896. 8vo, pp. 26. Price, M.0.60.

<sup>3</sup> Chicago (published by the Author), 1896. 8vo, pp. 59.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 279. Price, 6s.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 152. Price, 1s. 6d.

and doing justice to its subject both in its narrative and in its estimates.

A lecture on the *Old Testament*<sup>1</sup> comes from Professor Th. Beyer of Neustettin. It is strictly conservative in its general attitude to questions of Old Testament criticism, is of an earnest spirit, popularly written, and directed specially against the positions of critics like Cornill.

A trenchant contribution is made to the controversy regarding *Cardinal Manning*<sup>2</sup> by Stanley Roamer. The most important things in the Letters, Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographical Notes published in Mr Purcell's recent *Life* are reproduced here, presented in their due connections, and made the basis of a formidable indictment.

We have pleasure in reporting another and most welcome instalment of Professor H. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*.<sup>3</sup> This part embraces the Preaching of Jesus on the Law, on God and Man, and on the Kingdom of God. It deals also with the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus, and contains acute discussions on the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which more must be said hereafter.

A volume of sermons from Mr A. S. Tipple is always welcome ; it is sure to have a character of its own. The fifteen discourses which make the collection, to which the title *The Admiring Guest*<sup>4</sup> (from the subject of the first of the series) is given, are equal to any that Mr Tipple has yet published. Occasionally we detect a little of the strained in them, as in one on *Jesus and the Three Births*. But they are as a whole of another kind — carefully thought out, admirably expressed, and showing many fine touches. Particularly noteworthy are those on *Witnessing to the Truth* and on *The Close of the Year*. In a small volume entitled *Experience*,<sup>5</sup> the Rev. Wilford Richmond gives us what he terms *A Chapter of Prolegomena*, in which he shows cause why the question, *Can we know reality?* is not met with an initial "No." This makes the bulk of the book. In two shorter sections some indication is given of the philosophy which the writer has in view. The book is a collection of thoughts in defence of the possibility of attaining speculative truth, and is meant to prepare the way for a fuller treatment of the logical and metaphysical questions.

<sup>1</sup> Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Zeugnisses Christi. Berlin : Wiegandt & Grieben, 1897. 8vo, pp. 48.

<sup>2</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 283. Price,

<sup>3</sup> Fünfte und sechste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. Pp. 145-288 and 241-288. Price, M.3.

<sup>4</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 225. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Pp. 64. Price, 2s.

We have also to notice the second and third parts of the fifteenth volume of Holtzmann's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*<sup>1</sup> by which all students are so greatly helped ; an interesting sermon by Professor H. E. Ryle of Cambridge on *Physical Science and the First Chapter of Genesis* ;<sup>2</sup> a small volume on *The Book of Daniel*,<sup>3</sup> by P. W. Grant, the object of which is to show that, the eleventh chapter being regarded as a late interpretation of the eighth, chapters x. 1-20 and xii. 1-13 are seen to be a connected whole, while the entire book is better appreciated and its early date established ; a treatise on *The Art of Extempore Speaking*,<sup>4</sup> in which the Rev. Harold Ford, Rector of Monyask, writes with much good sense on the principles of pulpit and platform oratory ; *Laureates of the Cross*,<sup>5</sup> a series of carefully composed sermons on the *Service of Man, Penitence, the Church as Student, the Mirror of Sin* (as illustrated by the cases of Paul, Augustine, Jerome, Thomas à Kempis, Mary), with a concluding discourse on *Christus Consummator* ; the *Quiet Thoughts of a Quiet Thinker*,<sup>6</sup> consisting of extracts from the diaries of the Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., of Corsock, with an introduction by Professor Thomas M. Lindsay—a volume well worth publishing, full of devout, sober, and sometimes penetrating reflections on many religious questions ; an able, instructive, and admirably illustrated volume on *The Natural History of the Year*,<sup>7</sup> written for young people by a very competent hand ; a fourth edition of the Archdeacon of London's forcible pamphlet, *Points at issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome* ;<sup>8</sup> the seventh volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,<sup>9</sup> as rich as ever in matter intended to help preachers and teachers in their principal work, and conducted by Messrs Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory, than whom it would be difficult to find two men better qualified for the editing of a magazine of the kind ; a volume by the Rev. Fred-

<sup>1</sup> Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, &c. Braunschweig, Schwetschke ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 157-358. Price, M.7. Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, &c. Pp. 359-473. Price, M.4.

<sup>2</sup> London : Macmillan, 1896. 8vo, pp. 19. 1s. net.

<sup>3</sup> London : Snow & Co. Pp. 40. Price, 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> By the Rev. Aubrey N. St John Mildmay, M.A., Assistant Curate of St Mary's, Beverley. London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>7</sup> By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., F.R.S.E. London : Andrew Melrose. Imp. 16mo, pp. 288. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>8</sup> By Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London : Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 124. Price, 6d.

<sup>9</sup> London : C. H. Kelly, 1896. 8vo, pp. 580. 5s.



erick B. Cowe, consisting of a collection of *Sermons to Boys and Girls*<sup>1</sup>—bright, brief, pointed, and attractive both in subjects and in style; an Advent Course of Sermons by the Rev. F. H. Carlisle, on *The Four Last Things*,<sup>2</sup> dealing in a sober and reverent way with the great mysteries of death, judgment, heaven, and hell; a vigorous pamphlet on *The Claims of Rome*,<sup>3</sup> by Samuel Smith, M.P.; a collection of addresses to children, highly appropriate both in subject and in style, by the Rev. J. T. Levens, M.A., under the title of *Clean Hands*; <sup>4</sup> a series of papers on *The Sunday School and its Relations*,<sup>5</sup> in which some useful and appreciative things are said by Dr Dods, Dr Simon, the Revs. Hugh Black, George Jackson, A. R. Buckland, and A. R. Henderson, on what the Sunday School should be to the Home, the Church, the Business of Life and other subjects; a collection of *Gems of Illustrations*,<sup>6</sup> well chosen and arranged, by the Rev. George Coates; a very readable tale, *The Dead Prior*, by C. Dudley Lampen,<sup>7</sup> the point of which is in the closing chapters on *Satisfaction* and *Restitution*; an interesting volume by W. J. Wintle, on *The Story of Florence Nightingale, the heroine of the Crimea*; <sup>8</sup> a new and improved version of the German tale, *The Basket of Flowers*,<sup>9</sup> a small book which has deservedly won a great popularity in the Fatherland and elsewhere; a new and cheaper edition of Mr Charles L. Marson's *The Following of Christ*<sup>10</sup>—a series of carefully selected readings from modern authors of all kinds, already noticed with favour in this Journal (Oct. 1895, p. 419); a brief collection of *Meditations on Faith and Practice*,<sup>11</sup> by Clare Langton, useful but in no way striking; a well-written tale, *Stephen, a Soldier of the Cross*,<sup>12</sup> with a good tone in it, by the hand that gave us *Titus*; a *First Reader in New Testament Greek*,<sup>13</sup> by Mr James Hope Moulton, giving a series of well selected exercises which form a very useful

<sup>1</sup> Digging Ditches. London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 158. 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 77. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 56. Price, 3d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 151.

<sup>5</sup> London: The Sunday School Union, 1896. Fep. 8vo, pp. 79. Price, 1s.

<sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Pp. vi. 248.

<sup>7</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 221.

<sup>8</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

<sup>9</sup> Illustrated by A. Scott Rankin. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

<sup>10</sup> With a short Preface by Rev. Canon Scott Holland. London: Elliot Stock, 1820. Pp. xiii. 199. Price,

<sup>11</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Pp. 47.

<sup>12</sup> By Florence Morse Kingsley. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>13</sup> London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 40. Price, 6d. net.

supplement to the excellent *Introduction to the New Testament Greek*, published by the same author in the autumn of 1895; a second and improved edition of Professor Orelli's commentary on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*,<sup>1</sup> a good representative of the series to which it belongs, especially in the concentration of the exposition on the larger features of the prophetic message and the essentials of the interpretation.

Among other articles in the October number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* we have one on the *Third Book of Maccabees*, in which Mr I. Abrahams works out an argument in support of "a stronger belief in the historical genuineness of certain parts of the narrative." Mr Conybeare gives his second paper on *Christian Demonology*, dealing at length with the beliefs of Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem; with the evidence of Jewish literature on the subject as exhibited in the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the writings of Philo and Josephus, the Old Testament Scriptures, Tobit, the Talmud, &c.; as also, and very fully, with the evidence of Pagan writers, Plutarch, Apuleius, Pausanias, Porphyry, Philostratus, Lucian, &c. In the same number we have also a paper by the Rev. H. W. Hogg on the word *Amen*, in which the various usages of the term in the Old Testament and the New Testament, in the Temple, the Synagogue, and the Christian Church, are carefully examined and classified.

Among contributions of special interest which appear in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, we notice one by Mr H. W. Mengedoht in the fifth and sixth parts of vol. viii. It is a transliteration and translation of the text of the *Black Obelisk*—the monument of black marble found at Kurkh, Nimroud, and now in the British Museum. This remarkable text, which was published by Layard in 1851 and again by Winckler in 1893, records the genealogy of Shalmanezzer II., his wars with the Hittite Kings in Syria, with the Aramaean tribes in North Mesopotamia, and with certain rebel princes in Babylonia. Among other things which make it of great interest to students of scripture is the fact that the relief panels which adorn the centre part of each face of the section show the Israelite Embassy bearing the submission and tribute of Jehu, which were received in Shalmanezzer's eighteenth year, B.C. 841. In the sixth part of the same volume we have a no less important contribution by Mr. W. St Chad Boscawen on the new inscription discovered by Dr Victor Scheil in the Mound of Mujelibe, which is identified as the "Coronation Decree" of Nabonidus (B.C. 555-538). Such portions of the text as are of general interest are translated, and comments are to follow in a subsequent paper.

<sup>1</sup> Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. (Strack u. Zöckler's Kurzgefasster Kommentar.) München: Beck, 1896. Lex. 8vo, pp. vi. 224. Price, M.3.50.

The text refers to a number of events of great consequence—Sennacherib's invasion of Babylonia in B.C. 694 and his murder in B.C. 681, the Median invasion of Assyria, the accession of Labasi-Kudur, the coronation of Nabonidus, the dreams of Nabonidus, the restoration of the Temple of Harran, and the date of the Medo-Scythian invasion, B.C. 609. In addition to a number of articles on methods of public worship, on the nature of church music, modern religious art, and the like, recent numbers of the *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst*, conducted by Professors Spitta and Smend of Strassburg, contain several contributions of more general interest. Among these we refer our readers specially to a study of Paul Gerhardt in the fifth number, which gives a useful classification of his hymns, with a careful estimate of his importance in the history of hymnology, and his place in the lyric poetry of Germany. In the sixth number there are two brief but excellent papers of the same kind. In one of these Friedrich Spitta writes appreciatively of the work of the late Friedrich Wergner of Heilsbronn in church music; in the other Professor Karl Budde deals with the rhythmical difficulties in Luther's hymns. The seventh number of the same magazine contains a paper by Professor Förster on Joachim Paul, the author of the hymn "Zion, gieb dich nur zufrieden," and articles on choirs and other subjects by Spitta, Lehmann, &c.

In an interesting paper on *Augustin's Conversion*, contributed to the first number of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for 1897, Lic. theol. R. Schmidt examines the question raised by Harnack regarding the complete trustworthiness of the account which Augustin's *Confessions* give of the crisis in his life. He reaches the conclusion that there is little to correct or question in the picture drawn by Augustin himself, and that in the main point (the extraordinary mental change by which he found God in Christ) the account given in the *Confessions* stands the test of criticism. In the same number Professor Kaftan publishes an Address, which is by no means easy to follow, delivered in Eisenach in October last on the *Relation of the Evangelical Faith to the Logos-doctrine*; and Professor Chapuis gives an elaborate discussion, historical and dogmatic, of the question whether Christ is to be worshipped as God the Father is worshipped. He comes to this conclusion—Christus non adorandus, Christus sequendus—es giebt kein schöneres Ave als dieses.

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## **Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis auf die Gegenwart.**

*Von Otto Pfleiderer. Berlin: Reimer; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 712. Price, 10s. 6d.*

### **Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage.**

*Von Otto Pfleiderer. Berlin: Reimer, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 761. Price, 10s. 6d.*

It is now nearly thirty years since Professor Pfleiderer published his first work on the Philosophy of Religion. Of that work we retain a kindly recollection, and might possibly judge it with a more partial mind than even its author himself; for at a time when we needed direction and stimulus in these studies it gave what we needed. But while it was a predecessor, it can hardly be regarded as the ancestor of the present work; for the Professor ten years later issued a work maturer and more elaborate, which was the first edition of the one now before us. Ever since 1868, when he dedicated, on the centenary of Schleiermacher's birth, his book on Religion to the famous Tübingen *Stift*, the subject he there handled, and still handles, has been cultivated assiduously by many minds and approached from many sides. In no department has enquiry been more active, or has the related literature grown more extensively, or have problems of more vital interest been discussed. On this field theories have succeeded each other with amazing rapidity, and investigations needed to illustrate or to refute the theories have been conducted with extraordinary ability and thoroughness. The year before Pfleiderer's book on Religion appeared Max Müller's *Chips* were issued. They marked the beginning of popular interest, at least so far as England is concerned, in Comparative Mythology and Religion. But it was interest rather than knowledge that Max Müller created. His Solar Mythology held the field for a while, but was doomed to perish through having its inherent weakness disclosed by the rigorous and developed application it received from the hands of disciples who were more enthusiastic than enlightened. The theory that, by means of a more or less conjectural philology, could with some appearance of reason be so applied as to translate the names and adventures of certain deities into myths of the dawn or of the sky, became more than a trifle absurd when applied to Homeric heroes and their histories or to the person and doctrines of Buddha. The

application made it evident that the interpretation of the Solar Mythology was even more than its creation a feat of the imagination; and an imagination that was very scornful of the ordinary probabilities that guide life or of the intellectual processes that conduct to solid discovery. In the hands, if not of its inventor, yet of its most distinguished and eloquent exponent, it became a system or method of interpretation which was a kind of intellectual kaleidoscope, where "Sciences" changed their names without changing their substance, or appeared, disappeared, or re-appeared without bringing us any nearer to the knowledge either of primitive man or of the later steps in the History of Religion. And so we have had "The Science of Language," "The Science of Religion," "The Science of Thought," and "The Science of Mythology"; but these Sciences are, while varied in name, yet hardly varied in form and not at all in essence. On the whole they represent more the art of dealing in a particular or rather peculiar way with language at a given stage of its life—possibly a wholly imaginary stage—than a science that helps us to the interpretation either of thought or religion.

In 1865 (*i.e.* two years before the *Chips* appeared) two notable books were published—M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* and Tylor's *Researches in the Early History of Mankind*. These two books marked the beginning of an order of studies destined to exercise great influence on both the Philosophy and History of Religion. They called attention from language and thought to custom and institution. They asked us to consider the significance of the simpler and more primitive order of society for the more complex and civilised. In 1869 and 1870 M'Lennan's most stimulating and suggestive papers on "Totemism" appeared, and in 1871 Tylor's classical book on "Primitive Culture." Tylor by his doctrines of "survival" and of "animism," and his wonderful analysis at once of the faculties and tendencies of primitive man, of his language, of his implements and mental processes, supplied us with a theory of the birth of religion and its growth from its rudest stages, that appeared to have the merit of actuality, the realism of a system created by minute observation, the most extensive induction, and a marvellous faculty of reading the ideas and institutions of a stage of culture which was at once most remote from our own and yet present in our civilisation, social order and laws. Mr M'Lennan's researches into what seemed the most curious and arbitrary of savage customs helped us to enter by a new and rational way into the processes of the primitive mind, and to interpret what had seemed most arbitrary and irrational in certain of its customs and beliefs.

Mr Herbert Spencer, who cannot, of course, be regarded as the pupil of either of these two, embodied in his *Principles of*

*Sociology* (1876) the fruits of exhaustive reading, conducted for him, if not by him; and by means of the material thus collected he attempted to frame a theory both as to the origin and as to the development of religion which was more remarkable for its ingenuity than for its verisimilitude. He traced the genesis of the idea of ghosts, associated the idea with death and the rites connected with burial; and then proceeded to deduce the most sacred and permanent customs of Religion from ancestor worship. Robertson Smith, largely influenced by John M'Lennan, especially by his theory of the place and significance of totems, seized in his own department upon institutions and customs as the permanent elements in religion, and therefore as the best representations of what in it was primitive and characteristic. Mind changed, but institutions survived; and the theories, including the mythologies, which justified or explained the institutions, changed with mind. His interesting application of M'Lennan's theory to the interpretation of survivals in Hebraism, and his extension of the anthropological standpoint and method in his researches into the institutions and customs of Semitic religions in particular and such rites as sacrifice in general, made an epoch in this field of inquiry. Since his enquiries, we have had, among many others, Dr Andrew Lang in the field of Folk-lore and myth; and Dr J. G. Frazer in the sphere of custom and belief, pursuing researches into primitive religion and thought, with this as the total result, that the study of religion has become more anthropological than historical, more ethnological than philosophical. So much is this the case that neither history nor philosophy can begin its work until it has reckoned with anthropology. In other words, an attitude of mind has been created which feels that no theory as to the origin of religion can be satisfactory which does not regard savage customs and beliefs, or attempt to explain their genesis, and accept for all that follows illustration and confirmation at their hands.

Now it is an extraordinary test of a man's power to have concerned himself throughout this whole period with the history and philosophy of religion, and yet to be able to deal with it on the extensive scale adopted by Pfeiderer, in the works now before us. His mode of approach was, indeed, very different from that of the enquirers we have just named. He came to the question from the ideal side; from the discussions into the idea and origin of religion, which had been, as it were, naturalised in the German Chair. In this last edition he has attempted to appropriate some of the results and methods of the newer realism, though it would be too much to say with complete success. I think, indeed, the time has come when a change both of method and point of view would be dis-

tinctly advantageous. The long and successful career of anthropology has created the opportunity for a more ideal philosophy of religion. It is becoming ever more apparent that the interpretation of savage customs by civilised men is, as a rule, a most violent and arbitrary proceeding. Methods of interpretation have a curious tidal movement, the flood sets now towards solar or now towards animal, and, again, towards floral or arboreal, mythology, and as soon as the tide has risen it straightway begins to ebb. It is thought that now the fetish and now the totem holds the key to the religions, and it is forgotten that the key is man, and man not in his lowest, but in his highest and most developed state. For it has become evident that the gaps in the anthropological method are many and great; with it, as with evolution, the manipulation of living forms is easy, the difficulty is to find the forms to manipulate. The beginning does less to explain the end than the end to explain the beginning; and so the philosophical enquirer will work downward as well as upward, not forgetting that what perishes is as significant as what survives, for both have their common factor in the force which works our progress. What anthropology, therefore, can explain ought to be frankly recognised, but what it cannot ought to be no less frankly indicated and emphasised. Its literature, too, calls for criticism. There is nothing that so needs to be sifted as, for example, much of the evidence upon which Dr Frazer's "*Golden Bough*" proceeds. There is, indeed, no literature that requires to be handled with more discrimination and critical caution than that which deals with primitive belief and custom. Scepticism as to the traveller or the ethnographer who describes the savage, as to his sources and his knowledge of them, is here the very beginning of wisdom and the condition of science.

But while it is still necessary to investigate and study early institutions and usages, yet it is no less necessary to emphasise the point, that if ideas change while customs continue—customs have meaning only so far as they are read through ideas, and express something to the mind that observes them. In the history of religion, the changed idea more than the abiding custom is the significant thing; and an idealism which can bring man as the real factor of belief, into relation with the conditions that determine the forms his belief assumes, is clearly the enquiry that has promise for the question which is fundamental to the philosophy of religion. The abundance of material on the phenomenal side of the enquiry threatens to extinguish the problems that belong to the metaphysical; but only as the issue raised by metaphysics is defined and the factors needed for its solution ascertained, will there be that relation between enquiry and thought which is the basis of all established science.



It is from this point of view—the value of the metaphysical and ideal for the phenomenological and pragmatic enquiry—that Pfleiderer's work needs to be examined. It falls into two main divisions marked by his two volumes. The one is concerned with the History of the Philosophy of Religion, the other is concerned with the Philosophy of Religion itself. We shall notice these in succession.

Pfleiderer correctly enough says that the Philosophy of Religion, in its strict and only proper sense, is the systematic and scientific investigation and knowledge of the whole of the phenomena which in the life of mankind constitute religion. So defined, it is on the one side a scientific enquiry into the actual phenomena or facts represented by religion; on the other it is a philosophical attempt so to read these as to find a reason for their being, the order of their succession and the process of their development; in a word, to explain the birth, growth, and function of religion in the life alike of the individual and of the race. Thus the history of the Philosophy of Religion ought to be as much concerned with historical enquiry as with speculative thought. The historical enquiry into the phenomena, with the view to the discovery of their order and succession, is as much a part of the philosophy of religion as speculation concerning the causes, the idea and the end of religion itself. But neither from the historical nor from the philosophical side can Pfleiderer's work be described as exact or exhaustive. I do not understand, *e.g.*, why he begins his history where he does. It is not possible to admit, even according to his own definition, that the Philosophy of Religion is the latest of all philosophical disciplines, except in a sense that would make the greater part of his own history superfluous and even irrelevant. I do not know why he should seek the seeds and suggestions towards such a philosophy in Meister Eckhart and pass over Scotus Erigena, who was, judged according to Pfleiderer's own principles, a much more significant figure. Nor do I understand why the *Theologia Germanica* should be selected for analysis, and Raymond de Sabunde be forgotten; or why Jacob Boehme should receive such fit and kindly consideration, and Pico of Mirandola be left severely alone. It seems to me as if the history ought to have begun much earlier or else much later; with our own century or else with classical philosophy. There is, of course, much interesting and even modern speculation as to the origin and nature of religion in Lucretius. There is also in Plato a whole world of interesting speculation as to the behaviour of religion in history, its place in the state, the action of laws upon it and of it upon peoples. The interpretation of classical mythology is not a purely modern discipline, either in philology or philosophy. It was the favourite

field where the Stoic applied his method of allegorical interpretation, in order that he might find in the most gruesome or grotesque stories of the gods the wisdom of the ancients; and it was also the field where the Epicurean, prosaic then as now, applied his Euhemerism in order to show how belief rose out of misunderstood or faded history. But still more important was the action upon the thought concerned with religion of two parallel though dissimilar causes:—the Roman Empire with its fusion of many beliefs, creating a syncretism both in worship and in thought; and Christianity, introducing a universal religion without the bonds of place or the limitations of states or peoples. The inevitable fact that Christianity was a missionary religion, faced by a multitude of local or exclusive cults, compelled the Christians to philosophise as to whence these local cults had come, or as to why they had become exclusive, as to what they were and what they signified, and as to why their own religion was universal and divine, and as to how the local and the universal stood related to each other. And so we have both in the Apologists and in the Theology of Alexandria the germs of philosophical speculation as to the origin, the development and the inter-relations of religions. Then certainly the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine ought to have come into the history of the Philosophy of Religion; and the reason of his attitude, so positive to what may be termed the ideal in the old religions, and so negative to all that was institutional in them, should have been explored and investigated. And it is no less significant that the rise of the Philosophy of Religion in modern times was associated with the emancipation of the idea of religion from the institution which, by claiming to incorporate and realise the idea, so localised and lowered the religion. This, indeed, would involve the study, which is of such value to the philosophic treatment of religion, of the mutual relations of the idea and the institution, and of their power to modify and even transform each other. But it would be this study on a higher plane and under more favourable conditions than is afforded by the lower religions. And so I should have liked to see Professor Pfeiderer enquire first into the speculative effects in this field of the Renaissance, with its glorification of the long dead but now rediscovered classical world, especially as regards its art, literature and ethics; secondly, the mental changes caused by exploration and the discovery of the vastness of the world, with the immense variety of its peoples and religions, both east and west; and thirdly, the intellectual consequences of the Reformation, with its detachment of the idea of Religion from a special institution or Church. These three things were coincident and consentaneous; and tended to create the conditions, somewhat akin to those which existed in the early Christian

centuries, which made the Philosophy of Religion not only possible but necessary. If he had approached his subject from this wider and more philosophic survey, his history would have conducted him to far more satisfactory and important results than he reaches by drawing the arbitrary line which makes him begin with Spinoza, and discover principles in Spinoza which he indeed accepted, but was by no means the first to formulate and enforce.

So far as it is a history, his book has worth only as it concerns the philosophy of religion in Germany. If we place Spinoza in this catalogue,—and though he was no German, yet it is through Germany that he has found his way into modern thought,—then we are confronted with this curious result, in a book of 712 pages three-fourths are occupied with German contributions to the philosophy, while the other fourth serves for all the rest of the world. If facts had corresponded to this treatment, it would only have signified the greater thoroughness and seriousness of the German mind in dealing with these subjects. But facts and treatment do not correspond; the limits are drawn by the hand of Professor Pfleiderer, and even within the limits he has so arbitrarily fixed, the omissions are serious and significant. He has recognised that the question was historical as well as philosophical, and that attempts to deal with the history of religions really belong, were it only as supplying material, to the history of philosophical thought concerning them. On this ground we should have expected some account of the *Theologia Gentilis et Physiologia Christiana* of G. J. Vossius, in which he attempts to discover and to define the relation of ancient religions to the Jewish and the Christian faiths. Also of great importance, as indicating the attitude of mind caused by the problems raised by contact with an ancient yet still living religion, are the researches of the Jesuit missionaries in China—especially those of Intorcetta, Rougemont, and their associates into the Religion and Philosophy of Confucius. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, indeed, finds a reference, but curiously out of place, and without any sense of what he owed to Vossius, who indeed supplied him with almost all the material for his *De religione Gentilium*. The remarkable movement which is known as the School of the Cambridge Platonists, should also have been noticed, especially as it did so much to exhibit the Christian affinities of the higher philosophic thought of the ancient world. And amongst the names of Englishmen who contributed not a little to educating the mind of their day both in the knowledge of ethnic religions and the idea of natural religion—the names of Alexander Ross, of Theophilus Gale, and Bishop Wilkins, ought most certainly to have been found. Ross's book was translated into several European languages, as Cudworth was translated into

Latin and extensively annotated by Mosheim, while Gale's *Court of the Gentiles* had, in the very idea of it, something of the modern comparative method.

Still more arbitrary is the mode in which Professor Pfeiderer deals with what he calls English Deism. He speaks of Lord Herbert as an empiricist, when, as a simple matter of fact, it was against his doctrine of innate ideas that Locke directed the full force of his empirical polemic. Under the same head he brings Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. Hobbes indeed deserved a much more exhaustive treatment than he here receives; and one thing we may note, his special influence on Spinoza, who was indeed, in the region of historical, political and social thought, distinctly his disciple. But Hobbes does not belong either in the order of time or of thought to what is properly called English Deism. As little does Locke, who indeed may have supplied it with a philosophical basis; but one of the things that distressed his closing years was the use the deists began to make of his philosophy. And here Spinoza ought to have come in as in a sense, especially in the department which gave its historical character to deism, even more influential than Locke. The anonymous translation of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* lies before me bearing date 1689, and it forecasts, as it were, the very line in historical conception and discussion which deism followed, which is much more than can be said of any work by Locke. Hume, again, is in the strict sense not an English deist; he is a pure sceptic. No single piece of writing—not even his famous Essay on Miracles—belongs to deistic literature properly so called. He did not so much stand within the circle of deism as above it. His philosophy was more fatal to the deistic notion of religion than even Butler's Analogy; and may really have done more to discredit it and bring its reign to an end. And his genius saw that abstract discussions were in this field highly useless, and so he gave in his *Natural History of Religion* the most brilliant example that the eighteenth century has of a scientific theory as to the historical rise and growth of religious belief and custom.

But more remarkable than the sketchy and misleading account of English speculation and thought is the total absence of all reference to French. Certainly one is surprised to find eminent names in the seventeenth century omitted, but what we cannot discover the reason for is this—that with a chapter given up to English deism there is no reference whatever to the cognate, but in this field even more significant, French thought. There is no English deist that can be compared for literary, historical, and philosophical interest to Voltaire; and no writer of the century whose positive ideas and critical method can equal his in intrinsic

interest for the student of the action of ideas and institutions in religion. Rousseau's speculation, too, as to the position and function of religion in the State, also called for notice. Diderot for one reason, and Montesquieu for another, claim here the attention of the historian. Turgot, too, was more than an economist; he was also a philosopher, who formulated laws as to the forces that governed the evolution of society, and who said something as to the comparative merits of heathen and Christian civilisation and the services religion had rendered to mankind. And there were minor men—Dupuis for example—who not only discussed the origin of all the cults, but did it with a view to discovering and determining what was universal religion. In our own century, besides the names of those who are here most inadequately treated, there are others who ought to have been passed in review, as in its earlier Benjamin Constant, and in its later Charles Renouvier. The remarkable quality of French thought, its cultivation of history, its love of the concrete in religion, would have been exactly the proper corrective to the often *à priori* and abstract speculation of the German philosophers who are here treated in so much detail.

One regrets to think, from various indications, that Pfleiderer himself has too seldom gone to the sources, and has rather been content to follow the path beaten by travellers before him. To attempt correction in matters of detail, whenever he steps outside the familiar lines drawn by the usages of the German Chair, would be endless. When he speaks of John Stuart Mill finding his chief opponent in the Scotch philosopher, William Hamilton, he falls into almost as grotesque a blunder as when, in the index to the second volume, one is referred to John Stuart and James Mill, and finds the actual reference to be in two cases to a living scholar, to L. H. Mills, who has concerned himself with the Zend Avesta. We are, however, far from saying that Pfleiderer's account of German philosophy has the defects which we have indicated in the other parts of his book. He is here more on his own ground, and is, as a rule, interesting, though I should not like to say throughout satisfactory. There are a great many points in his interpretation of Spinoza with which I should disagree, notably in the account of the sources of his philosophy, of his relation to Descartes, of his attitude to historical religion, especially as regards Christianity and its founder, and of what may be termed his contribution to the modern scientific conception of nature. The exposition and criticism of Leibnitz also seem to need in several important respects qualification. But, on the whole, I can frankly say, that to the English student wishful to know German speculation on religion between Kant and Hegel, his work may be



commended ; especially as, so far as it relates to this, it can still be found substantially unchanged in the English translation.

The later volume on the Philosophy of Religion deserves higher commendation. It has been more thoroughly worked over and adapted to the present state of thought. But it suffers from its relation to the prior volume, and in a twofold way. The two have not been sufficiently well woven together, and both the author's and reader's mind is too full of the older speculative interpretation of religion to do full justice to the question as it is now conceived. There is, too, in the later volume, recurrence of matter from the earlier ; and discussions which the earlier ought to have made superfluous, add to the bulk without adding to the weight of the later work. It falls into four sections, and discusses the historical development of religion, the essence or idea of religion, its evolution in thought and in worship. Now, the chapter which I feel to be, from the point of view of philosophy, the most defective, is the first, dealing with the Beginnings of Religion. This is a philosophical question, though it is one that historical and anthropological enquiry may greatly simplify and define. It has, of course, by the anthropological discussions noticed in the opening of this paper, been directly raised, and by certain investigators attempted to be solved along the lines marked out by ethnography. The question as to the oldest and lowest forms of belief is quite distinct from the question as to its origin. Enquiries in this field tend to run into grooves which favour the adoption and advocacy of one-sided hypotheses. Religion is conceived now as a creation of the secondary appetites or passions, now as due to mistaken inferences, now as springing from the phenomena of sleep and dreams ; and the enquirer does not seem to feel that the cause of a phenomenon which is as universal and permanent as man, cannot be a mere occasional or fortuitous force, but one as common and constant as the phenomenon it would explain. As to its earlier forms, now totemism, now ancestor worship, now the figurative speech which becomes a solar mythology, now the family meal, in which God and men mutually partake, which becomes sacrifice and ritual, obtain a vogue, and grow into a sort of reigning fashion. But these questions of origin and of oldest forms need to be kept essentially distinct, and the time has come when a useful analysis of the psychological factors of religion may be attempted anew. But this will have to be done much more carefully and scientifically than has yet been attempted. No single form, whether solar mythology or totemism, is sufficient to express the whole of the complex phenomena we term primitive religion, and no psychology which confines itself to the faculty or chance which may be equal to the causation of the supposed oldest form, will suffice as a philosophy

of the origin. And these two problems will have to be studied with a larger sense of the significance both of place and time. The mind that creates the form is conditioned by its environment, and study of environment, natural, geographical, ethnological, chronological, becomes a necessary condition of formulating the question for discussion. But investigations into the conditions that create the primitive forms only accentuate the need of enquiry into the sources or causes of the ideas which compel expression or make for themselves, out of these primitive forms, natural bodies in which to live. But for this enquiry developed man and developed religion are much more significant than primitive. And what we feel, speaking in general touching Pfleiderer's treatment, is simply this, that while he has briefly sketched the theories as to the beginnings of religion, he has not fundamentally worked out his own philosophy and applied it to the solution of the problems they raise. Anthropological enquiry has made the question very different to-day from what it was when it shaped itself before the minds of Kant, Schleiermacher, and Hegel; but the fundamental problem as they conceived it remains, and needs re-discussion in view of our larger knowledge and vaster conception of nature, history, and man.

This is a very general criticism, but it affects Professor Pfleiderer's work throughout. He has failed to bring his philosophy into relation with his history of religion, and his history of religion into organic connection with the collective life of man. He begins too late, ends too soon, and moves within too circumscribed an area; in other words, his historical development of religion is conceived within too narrow lines. He illustrates by special types, but he does no more. And I feel that where the facts are so multitudinous, and the difficulty of grouping and co-ordination so immense, it is too adventurous a thing for any single scholar, within a single chapter, to deal with the Semitic or Indo-European or Christian religions. It tempts to the most dangerous of all things in enquiries of this kind, a series of judgments or deductions that claim to be scientific or philosophical, but cannot be what they claim to be, because of the inadequacy of the knowledge on which they are based. With the analysis of religious ideas and forms of worship I have much more sympathy, and am able to speak with much more appreciation.

For my own part, I feel how gravely difficult are the problems here raised, and how much we need the sobriety that comes of large experience, patient thought, extended and detailed enquiry. For the stimulus Pfleiderer has given to many minds—my own included—I am grateful; but all the more must I express the feeling that, while his work is a good introduction to the Philo-

sophy of Religion as the Chairs of Germany have known it, it is not an adequate contribution to the subject as it lives in the knowledge and for the mind of the present. A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

### **A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.**

*By John Theodore Merz. Vol. I.: Introduction, and Scientific Thought, Part I. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Son, 1896. 8vo, pp. xiv. 458. Price, 10s. 6d. net.*

THE task which Mr Merz proposes to accomplish in the work of which this volume is the first instalment is one of great magnitude and difficulty. The nineteenth century has been one of unexampled activity in all departments of human life and thought, and the historian of its intellectual progress would need to possess a large capacity for research in order to collect the materials necessary for his undertaking, an unusually systematic mind to classify these, and a discriminating judgment to appreciate the proper perspective in which the constituent units of the material should be viewed.

The century opened when Europe was still in the throes of the convulsions which followed the French Revolution; in its course many political changes have taken place which have more than once materially altered the map of the world; and now at its close it is too soon to predict whether or no, in the present condition of international unrest, it will end without another upheaval of still greater violence and more far-reaching consequences. Changes of equal extent and importance have taken place in the currents of human thought during this period, the future effects of which it is impossible to forecast; but, from the tendencies which are most conspicuous at the present day, one may without much risk hazard a prophecy as to the prevalent spirit with which the twentieth century will open.

In his Introduction Mr Merz sets forth the general scheme of the work, in which he proposes to review the progress of thought in the spheres of science, philosophy and religion. This is followed in the first volume by the first part of the history of the scientific thought of the century. In the succeeding volumes he promises to give the second part of the study of scientific thought, together with the detailed history of the philosophical and the religious thought of the period. From the sample given we have reason to anticipate that the work will be one of great value. The style is clear and intelligible, even when dealing with matters of intricate detail; the

order of thought is that of a master of method, and the prodigious assemblages of facts and dates are correctly given. The plan of relegating to footnotes the great mass of explanatory, biographical, and literary details, makes it easier to follow the continuous unfolding of the main argument in the text; but the very fulness of the notes is in itself something of a distraction, and the reader who wishes to grasp the whole meaning of the text will require to read each section at least twice, at first taking the text continuously so as to master the line of thought, and then reading it along with the notes at their respective points of reference.

This portion of the book, at least, will repay such careful perusal, and, on the whole, it promises to be one of the most suggestive books of the year.

The object of the author is to pourtray the history of thought, taking the word in its widest sense, during the century. He abstains from defining the word, but uses it so as to cover the whole range of human intellectual activities, not only those which are systematic and methodical, but those which, being unmethodical, lie outside the range of strict scientific treatment, such as the departments of poetic, artistic, literary and religious thought. He does not profess to give a history of the results of the thought, but it is scarcely possible to divorce the history of the processes from that of the results, as indeed is seen in the chapter on the Atomic view of Nature. Thought he describes as the scaffolding by which man erects for himself the fabric of science, of art, of society and of religion. In the end, the scaffolding is removed, and the results are all that are visible to the next generation. In this sense, Mr Merz believes that the history of thought can be accurately written only by the contemporary historian who can trace the method whereby the framework of the thought has been put together, while, as yet, the structure of it is in view or in memory.

The history of thought is thus, in one sense more, in another less, than the history of philosophy. They differ both in method and content. In the conception of these distinctions, our author practically adopts the limitation of philosophy as given by Lotze; indeed the influence of that great thinker is to be detected in many parts of the book.

The progress of the thought in the century has been twofold, in extension and in condensation. In the first respect, its growth has been in most directions greater than that in any century, at least since the age of Pericles, but the second has perhaps been the most notable feature in this period. The tendency has been to bring things that were disjunct and scattered under central laws; and in most of the philosophical systems of the time there are unifying conceptions, such as the *Humanity* of Comte, the *Social*

*Organism* of Spencer, the *Microcosm* of Lotze. This unifying principle lies at the back of the cycle of growth and development, and the knowledge of it helps in the appreciation of the value and significance belonging to man and human life in the great whole of Nature.

In carrying out this programme, Mr Merz restricts himself to the three great nations of Western Europe. This limitation is of little moment in the part before us, the more especially as he refers incidentally to Scandinavian, Dutch and American Thought in the cases in which they possess any special individuality. If the progress of intellectual activity fulfil its present promises, the historian who, at the end of the next century, essays to cover the whole ground, will find it needful to extend the purview of his works so as to include not only Russia, Italy and Scandinavia, but also Japan and America, as independent elements.

Fortunately, however, there is the prospect of a change in the direction of freer inter-communication of thought making itself manifest in many branches of learning. As long as Latin was the universal medium of intellectual exchange, students and universities were in touch one with another; but when, with the eighteenth century, the use of the national language, as the vehicle in which the results of intellectual work were recorded, became the rule in each country, the cosmopolitanism of learning came to an end. Of late the linguistic difficulty has become intensified owing to the aspirations of each smaller nationality after a national independence and a national literature. But side by side with this increase of a polyglot literature there is growing up a more perfect system of scientific and literary inter-communication, through the medium of periodic records of the progress of thought in each department throughout all the world, conveyed in one or other of the two languages which every serious student requires to know.

In the three opening chapters the author traces the growth and development of the scientific spirit in France, in Germany, and in Britain respectively, during the first half of the century. He begins with France, as at the opening of the period the scientific spirit and scientific methods were more systematically cultivated there than elsewhere. This was especially due to the fostering influence of the Academy, and particularly to the great mathematicians of that body who, by the introduction of exact methods, gave to science its accuracy and precision. The literary men of France were at the period likewise sufficiently affected by the spirit of the preceding century of "*Aufklärung*" to use their influence in popularising scientific discovery. It is refreshing in this section to read Mr Merz's appreciative notice of Cuvier, who has been of late years (on account of his opposition to theories of transformation)



treated with rather scant courtesy by the popular writers on Zoology.

In Germany the development of the University system provided a national machinery for the promotion of thought and the cultivation of learning. During the eighteenth, and the early years of the nineteenth century, philosophy and classical knowledge were the subjects which dominated all the rest in these schools. The scope of their researches was expressed by the word *Wissenschaft*, a term to which there is scarcely an exact equivalent in English or French, and which includes all the products of intellectual activity, except perhaps those connected with the handicrafts.

At first the atmosphere of the German Universities was unfavourable to the introduction of the exact methods which had come into use in France; but by and by, especially on account of the needs of the Medical Faculty in each University, and under the influence of Humboldt, J. Müller, Gauss and Weber, the method of detailed research was introduced as a supplement to the courses on *Naturphilosophie*, which had, under the influence of Oken and Schelling, been formerly predominant.

The rapid growth of the practical sciences and of the system of laboratory research in Germany when once established was due to the existence of the extensive University machinery upon which it was engrafted, and to the fact that those who superintended the researches were themselves teachers; and the combination of the pre-existing philosophic spirit with the experimental methods of research contributed to the rapid development of scientific thought in the German-speaking countries.

The case of Britain (which Mr Merz calls England) was different during the first half of the century. It was an Englishman's work that underlay all the exact science of France, but except perhaps in the one case of Newton, the scientific influence of Britain at the beginning of the century was comparatively small. There was no national encouragement offered to foster the scientific spirit, or to further scientific investigation in England. Nay, what was still worse, owing to the national disposition to grumble, and the prevalence of personal jealousies, Englishmen were always foremost in depreciating English science, and Mr Merz has an abundant choice of the literature of disparagement from which to quote. There was no active national central organisation like the French Academy to unite the scattered workers. The two great Universities were asleep, and the Royal Society was inactive. While this state of things had its effect in stimulating the individualism of those who, in spite of discouragement, prosecuted scientific researches, yet it hindered the diffusion of an interest in

science or in its results. And so it came to pass that while great germinal ideas and researches were originated in Britain, yet Englishmen have been among the last to give the credit to their fellow-countrymen. Lavoisier was set up against Black, Priestley, and Cavendish; Champollion against Young; Gay Lussac against Dalton; and Leverrier against Adams. These are but types of this general anti-patriotic attitude, which has too often been assumed by English writers.

This is fortunately to a considerable extent a thing of the past, but we are as yet far behind our neighbours in the national encouragement of research. Professor Petrie has done a great work in Egypt in spite of the British occupation, and those who have come in contact with the local administration there know how much greater would have been the facilities afforded had he been a Frenchman. Owing to the fact that until comparatively of late years English translations of French text-books have been used in many departments of knowledge, even yet our countrymen do not always get the credit that they deserve for their work, and while it would be undesirable to copy the practice of the French in eliminating, as far as possible, all foreign names from the history of science, yet it would only be fair that our countrymen should get whatever honour is really their due. To such an extent has this system of describing each science as essentially French been carried, that I have seen in a small handbook of practical mechanics in use in French schools an account of the history of the steam engine without any mention of the names of Newcomen or Watt. On the whole, however, there is of late years a marked improvement in the accuracy and fulness of British bibliography in scientific works, which in these respects now can compare favourably even with those of our German contemporaries.

Mr Merz sums up the relations of the three countries in the epigrammatic phrases that France has produced the greatest number of perfect works, Germany the greatest mass of scientific research, and Britain the greatest number of germinal ideas. This may be true of the first half of the century, but within the last three decades the products of German thought have in perfection as well as in bulk certainly surpassed those of France.

The two chapters which make up the rest of the volume are devoted to the development of the lines of scientific thought which centre around the works of Newton and Dalton. The chapter on the Astronomical view of Nature consists of an examination of the influence of the mathematical method of research, which, starting from the work of Newton, and developed by that of the eminent mathematicians who have followed him, has fostered the tendency

to reduce all conceptions of the mechanics of nature—cosmical, molar and molecular—to gravitation.

The development of this idea and of many physical researches and speculations of a cognate character are carefully discussed, and the confusion arising from confounding the description of phenomenal changes with the real explanations of these changes is pointed out, showing that we must at present content ourselves with the conception that these general laws are expression of facts without attempting any metaphysical explanation of them.

Whether the fundamental ideas of space which underlie these mathematical principles are equally true in immeasurably small or immeasurably large magnitudes has been called in question by Riemann. This subject, which has been also discussed by Clifford, opens up an interesting field for speculation. Such a view, however, would require us to alter our fundamental conception of space, for it seems hard to get out of the difficulty which Lotze has clearly stated, that a system of places which was otherwise formed in any one of its parts than in another would contradict its own conception, and would not be a neutral background for the manifold relations of what was to be arranged in it. It would be in itself a special formation, a multiplicity extended in  $n$  directions, instead of the  $n$ -dimensional multiplicity of extension.

From the Astronomical Mr Merz passes to the Atomic view of Nature, and he shows that here, as in the former case, modern scientific thought has taken an old vague philosophical idea, and formulated it anew in consonance with the results of experiment. The progress of this idea is traced from Dalton's first draft of the Atomic theory, through the realisation of Wollaston's prophetic suggestion of the arrangement of atoms, up to the received view of the organisation of atoms into complex radicles, and the most modern forms of the theories of valency and atomicities. In spite of the increase of our knowledge of the intimate constitution of matter, Mr Merz contends that even in its most recently developed form the Atomic theory has not yet reached the position of an established universal law comparable with the Newtonian formula of gravitation. In all the numerous problems which have presented themselves in connexion with modern investigations as to the ultimate structural constitution of matter, there is to be recognised the fundamental difference between statistical summaries of facts and definite historical knowledge of process. The Atomic view gives no information concerning the nature of the differences of the elements, and affords no insight into the nature of the forces on which the formation or destruction of chemical compounds depend; that is, it gives us no real knowledge as to the nature of chemical affinity. Mr Merz concludes that the

Atomic view is therefore at best a convenient resting-place similar to that which Newton found in physical astronomy, and on which have been established the Astronomical view of nature.

The hypothesis of Prout, lately revived as the "protyle" theory by Crookes, is mentioned, but rejected on the ground of the accurate and elaborate investigation of Stas, who has proved that the simplicity required by the hypothesis to exist in the ratios of atomic weights cannot be verified by experiment.

The mechanical, physical, biological, statistical and psychophysical aspects of nature, and the development of the mathematical thought of the century, are to form the second part of this section of the subject; and to the author's treatment of these important branches those who have studied this volume cannot fail to look forward with lively interest.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

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### **An Introduction to the History of Religion.**

*By Frank Byron Jevons, M.A., Litt.D., Classical Tutor in the University of Durham. London: Methuen & Co., 1896; 8vo, pp. 443. Price, 10s. 6d.*

DR JEVSNS has done a work of unspeakable service to students of religion and its history. The literature of the subject is so immense, so inaccessible to ordinary readers, scattered in so many different kinds of publications, that it is impossible to become acquainted with it all. The works of the acknowledged masters, such as Tylor, Lang, Waitz, Robertson Smith, Frazer, are also largely beyond the reach of most students, and a condensed summary of their results is a great boon. Not that the work of Dr Jevons is a mere summary, it is no doubt largely based on the results won by these and other workers, but it is also an independent study, and contains the fruit of original investigation. He has discussed the whole question with great lucidity, and in a manner so clear and methodical as to give us a luminous conception of the achievements of anthropology and its method as applied to religion and its history. Whether we agree with the anthropologists or differ from them, it is a great gain to have a clear statement of what they mean, and of what they have done. It is also a gain to have so lucid a statement of the beliefs of the primitive mind, and of the various ways in which that mind strove to express its sense of the unseen power on which it felt its dependence, and of the means it devised to maintain or to restore the friendly relations with these powers. This volume enables us to accomplish this great end, and for this service hearty thanks are due to Dr Jevons.

The Introductory chapter sets forth the method of study and research to be used in this investigation, and states the problem to be solved. The method is the Comparative, which has been so fruitful of results in allied fields of work. This method assumes that all religions have something in common, and that they may be compared with one another, but it assumes also that they differ from each other, and therefore they admit of comparison. There are religious customs and institutions; what these were and are may be ascertained, and have already been largely ascertained, and there is a vast quantity of material ready for the application of the comparative method. It is assumed also that religions have been evolved. Many object to the thought that religion has been evolved. In answering this objection Dr Jevons gives a description of evolution so important generally that we quote it. "The validity of this reasoning all depends upon the tacit assumption that evolution is the same thing as progress, whereas in point of fact evolution is universal, but progress is very rare—the civilised peoples of the earth are less numerous than the semi-civilised and uncivilised—and of the civilised themselves, the progressive peoples are a minority. Institutions not only grow, but decay also, and decay as well as growth is a process of evolution. Florid art is evolved out of something simpler, but is not therefore superior to it. The Roman Empire was evolved out of the Roman Republic, and was merely a degeneration from it. The polytheism of Virgil is no better, as religion, than that of Homer; the polytheism of late Brahminism is certainly worse than that of the earlier periods. Therefore to say that the only evolution in religion—except that which is on the lines of the Bible—is an evolution of error, may be quite true and yet not show that the idea of evolution is inapplicable to heathen religions. Their evolution may well have been, from the religious point of view, one long process of degeneration. Progress is certainly as exceptional in religion as in other things, and where it takes place must be due to exceptional causes. The study of heathen religions, therefore, on evolutionary principles, may throw some light on true religion; if we can ascertain the reasons why they have failed to advance, we shall be better able to appreciate the reasons to which progress is really due" (pp. 5-6). It is well to have a statement of the meaning which our author attaches to evolution, for many speak as if it were synonymous with progress, and a good deal of opposition arises from that misunderstanding.

After the Introduction, from which the quotation is taken, Dr Jevons gives an outline of the subject, which prepares us for the task of mastering his great argument. Starting from the fact that



"the savage imagines that even lifeless things are animated by a will, a personality, a spirit like his own," he proceeds to set forth the savage idea of the Supernatural, and after discussing the question of the relation of magic to Religion, gives us a lucid description of Sympathetic Magic. This leads on to the means by which savage men seek to establish friendly relations with some of the supernatural powers. As they seem to themselves to be in friendly relations with the souls of the departed, this leads our author to set forth the savage view of life and death. What is the relation of the living to the dead? One of friendship, or of enmity, or of both? It is not necessary to say at this stage, as contact with the mourner is, in both cases, tabooed. Taboo is the conviction that there are certain things which must be avoided, and here there is a chapter on the relation of Taboo to morality and religion. As natural things have a personality like his own, so also he thinks that they, like man, are grouped in various ways, and he must make alliance with them. He makes a blood covenant between a human kind and an animal species. This is Totemism. Totemism accounts for animal worship, for the altar and for the idol, for animal sacrifice and the sacramental meal. Up to this point our author has dealt with the worship to which the individual is admitted because he was a member of the tribe which had a blood-covenant with a totem-species "if the individual wished to commend himself specially to supernatural protection, there are two ways in which he might do so, one illicit and one licit. He might address himself to one of the supernatural powers which had no friendly relations with his own tribe or any other—which was no 'god'—and this was in itself a suspicious way of proceeding, which the community resented, and if harm came of it, visited with punishment. This is Fetichism. Or he might with the approval of the community, and by the intermediation of the priest, place his family or himself under the immediate protection of the community's gods. In any case, however, licit or illicit, the ritual adopted was copied from that observed by the community in approaching its gods." This is fully described in the chapter on Family Gods and Guardian Spirits. Growing out of this, as the family grew into the clan, is the practice of ancestor-worship. In a similar manner we are led on to the consideration of Tree and Plant worship, of Nature worship, of Syncretism and Polytheism, of Mythology, of Priesthood, of the next life, of the transmigration of souls, of the Mysteries. Then there is an important discussion of Monotheism, and the book ends with a description of the evolution of belief. Such is an outline of the weighty discussion contained in this remarkable book. To read it with comfort one must be acquainted

with the phraseology of the anthropological school. The technical terms of that school abound on almost every page. We meet such words as taboo, totemism, and many others of the same order, and it would be helpful if we had read Robertson Smith, M'Lennan, Lang, or Tylor. It may, however, be well if we began with Jevons and then proceeded to read the others; he has put into lucid order the rather scattered, and somewhat disjointed facts and speculations of the anthropological school. Never before had these speculations appeared to us to be so luminous, and so reasonable as they now appear in these pages. These ancient beliefs of man are seen to have played a great part in laying the foundations on which the fabric of civilised society is built up. Taboo may seem to us to be utterly irrational, and no doubt is so, but here we see that it was the means of impressing the mind of early man with the thought that there were some things which he must not do. As Robertson Smith says, "The restrictions on individual licence which are due to respect for a known and friendly power allied to man, however trivial and absurd they may appear to us in their details, contain within them germinant principles of social progress and moral order."

Indeed, the valuable quality in this book, which distinguishes it from most other books dealing with the history of religions, is the way in which the rational meaning and the good in primitive beliefs are disentangled from their irrational settings, and placed in such a light as to show in them the germs of rational order and progress. In one chapter the author sets himself to show forth the principles of logic on which the savage acts, even in the formation of irrational conclusions. He has no difficulty in showing that a savage uses the Method of agreement, the Method of difference, and the Method of concomitant variations. The description is both amusing and instructive. Dr Jevons does not, as some do, gather together as many instances of irrational belief as possible, use them as illustrations of the irrationality of all religious belief, and leap to the conclusion that belief in any supernatural power is superstitious and unscientific. Rather every widespread religious belief is regarded as evidence of the religious needs of man, needs which must be met and satisfied in a true and adequate religious system. Can this be said of Totemism? Let Dr Jevons answer. "If it is in love and not in fear that religion in any true sense of the word has its origin, it is none the less true that fear—not of irrational dangers, but of deserved punishment—is essential to the moral and religious education of man; it is 'the fear of the Lord' that is the beginning of wisdom. That the lowest savages are a perpetual prey to irrational terror, and believe sickness and death to be

unnatural and to be the work in all cases of evil spirits, is matter of common knowledge. It was inevitable, therefore, that the supernatural ally of a human kin should continue to exercise this power of causing disease and death. But whereas the belief that disease is due to evil spirits is fatal not only to a right understanding of the action of natural causes and to all intellectual progress, but also prevents fear from becoming an instrument in the moral education of man, the ascription of sickness to a friendly power has a different result. This action on his part, his departure from the usually benevolent behaviour shown by him to his own people, can only be explained by the assumption that he has been in some way offended by them. The possible modes of offence are known; they are such as have been mentioned in the last paragraph, and though they at first include many which religion, as it advances, sets aside by a process of 'supernatural selection,' they include offences which we recognise to be immoral, and on the checking of which the further progress of morality depended. But in that, the earliest stage of society, unless the restrictions which we see to be irrational had been enforced, neither could these have been enforced which really contained the germs of morality" (pp. 109, 110).

Had we space we might trace the argument of our author from one chapter to another and see what use he makes of the vast mass of material gathered to his hand. Not that in all cases we agree with him. Sometimes he advances a historical statement and does not give the evidence on which it is based, as when he states that a revival of religion among the Northern Semites spread into the neighbouring states of Greece. We should like to see the evidence for that statement. Again, we should have liked more detailed evidence for his statements regarding the Eleusinian Mysteries. There are also other points open to remark. In particular we should like some discussion of the assumption made by him without remark that savages imagine that even lifeless things are animated by a will, a personality, a spirit, like their own. We know that the assumption is made almost universally by the anthropological school. Mr Herbert Spencer, who is never referred to in this book, is the only one who does not make the assumption, he explains the assumption in accordance with his theory of ghosts. Some explanation is certainly needed. The higher animals distinguish between the living and the non-living. A rook can distinguish between a man with a gun and a man without a gun. They can also distinguish between Sunday and Saturday. Is man more stupid than the higher animals? Under the stern teaching of the struggle for existence he must distinguish between the living and the non-living, and, if he seems to attribute

personality to lifeless things, it must be because he has some fancied reasons for so doing. It seems that he attributes, not to all living things, but only to some. Why? An answer to this question would give us an insight into the working of the savage mind which we have not yet obtained.

The two chapters on Monotheism and the Evolution of Belief form a worthy conclusion to a remarkable book. He comes to the conclusion—one, too, warranted by the facts—"that it was only among one people that this simple and amorphous monotheism was developed into something higher, and everywhere else degenerated into the grosser form of animal-worship." Evolution in religion was universal, in one people evolution became progress. As regards the evolution of belief we shall quote the last paragraph. "Sacrifice and the sacramental meal which followed on it are institutions which are or have been universal. The sacramental meal, wherever it exists, testifies to man's desire for the closest union with his god, and to his consciousness of the fact that it is upon such union alone that right social relations with his fellow-man can be set. But before there can be a sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, the whole human race for thousands of years has been educated to the conception that it was only through a divine sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for man. At times the sacramental conception of sacrifice appeared to be about to degenerate into the gift theory; but then in the sixth century B.C. the sacramental conception woke into new life, this time in the form of a search for a perfect sacrifice—a search which led Clement and Cyprian to try all the mysteries of Greece in vain. But of all the great religions of the world it is the Christian Church alone which is so far heir of all the ages as to fulfil the dumb, dim expectation of mankind; in it alone the sacramental meal commemorates by ordinance of its founder the divine sacrifice which is a propitiation for the sins of all mankind."

JAMES IVERACH.

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### Contemporary Theology and Theism.

By R. W. Wenley, M.A., D.Phil., D.Sc., Senior Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, 4s. 6d.

As of many others, so of Dr Wenley, it may be said that his first is as yet his best. His book on the *Aspects of Pessimism* is not equal, either in thought or style, to his book on *Socrates and Christ*. This last was a most promising book, and indicated possibilities which have not yet been realised. Nor does the

present work rise to the height then attained by him. His style is far from lucid, and the arrangement of his material is not happy. He speaks somewhat largely, generalises too widely, and sometimes makes statements which are too sweeping. But there is work in his book, and abundant evidence of thought and study. He has read widely and has reflected on what he has read. There is material for a good book here, though it is somewhat marred by the mode of presentation.

Dr Wenley has approached theology from the philosophical side, and his main interest is philosophical. He is really in the front rank of philosophical thinkers, and every statement bearing on philosophy bears the mark of thorough knowledge and of accurate discrimination. He has been trained, and has trained himself in philosophy. The theological part of his book is not on the same high level. It is somewhat amateurish. Contemporary theology is not adequately represented by the speculative school and the school of Ritschl. There are other writers worthy of consideration, and other tendencies unnoticed by him. It is somewhat unfortunate for a book to have a larger title than the contents warrant.

Taking the book and its contents as they stand, we may say that the statement of the theological situation is good as far as it goes. that is to say, it is good as far as appertains to the speculative-school and the followers of Ritschl. His statement of the assumptions and positions of the speculative school is full and fair, and his criticism of them able and helpful. This is a work for which he is well qualified. He seems to have been once under the influence of Hegel and his British followers, and to have fought his way out of it into clearer light. He knows the strength and weakness of that tendency in philosophy, and he speaks of it with knowledge and power. His statement of Ritschl's position in theology is fair, though there are elements in that theology to which justice is not done. A reaction against the dominance of Hegelianism was a historical necessity, and this reaction went on under the guidance of Ritschl. Like all reactions it went too far, and Dr Wenley has done good service in pointing out the weakness of the system of Ritschl. But the criticism of Ritschl ought to have been couched in different terms. Ritschl was far too great a man, too great a thinker, and his influence on the thought and life of his generation too extensive, to permit anyone to speak of him and his work as is done in these pages. Ritschl deserves respectful treatment, and his great service to historical theology ought to be thankfully acknowledged. The last chapters, on the theistic problem, are good. They are well put, and set forth in an adequate manner the present state of the question.

JAMES IVERACH.



**Religious Faith : An Essay in the Philosophy of Religion.**

*By the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A., author of "The Theory of Inference," &c. London: Kegan Paul, 1896. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 337. Price, 12s.*

*The Theory of Inference* was noticed in this *Review* in January 1895; *Natural and Supernatural Morals* in October 1891.

The volume before us contains two parts. Book I., on "The Meaning of Faith," discusses the Biblical usage, on the assumption that we may hope to find in all the N.T.—by the way, what about the O.T. ?—"fragments of a true theology," each fragment "capable of being harmonized with all the rest," so that we shall have a revealed philosophy of religion, satisfactory to heart and intellect in regions beyond the scope of human discovery. The leading result is, that (religious) "faith" is used in the N.T. mainly for *three different things*; 1st, faith in the supreme God; 2ndly, justifying faith in Jesus Christ—which is said to justify, because it leads to actual inherent righteousness, in contrast with O.T. faith in God, which is merely imputed for righteousness—and which normally issues in Baptism and the entrance into the Church "or Kingdom of God"; 3rdly, a faith of attachment to the risen Christ, only possible to the baptized Christian.

Some of this exegesis is unquestionably wrong, and the whole procedure is extremely slight. Mr Hughes has allowed his intellectual bias and his church bias to lead him where they will. True or false, the doctrine of a threefold faith is not a revealed philosophy; at the best, it is a "philosophical"—i.e., logical—manipulation of revealed materials, and is scarcely intelligible till Mr Hughes has explained himself at length in Book II.

This, on "the Philosophy of Faith," is much more suggestive and stimulating.

Reason, as Kant especially has shown, can infer from nature only a *limited* God. (The statement of Kant's position seems not quite accurate.) An *infinite* God is a thought beyond the range of the human mind, till revelation inserts it. And thus we may maintain a modified form of the ontological argument; since the idea of God has come to our limited minds, the great Original of which it tells must exist, must have directly revealed it. But the leading theistic proof is a moral proof. Natural ethics declare merely what is fitting; the full conception of duty introduces us to supernatural ethics; for man's knowledge of himself as personal depends on his knowledge of a personal God, and the thought of duty always brings with it a conscious and individual revelation of God, to whom our service is due. Our freewill also depends

on our relation to God. For will is threefold; there is the determined will, which acts out a decision; there is the relatively free will, which decides, but which is swayed by character; and, above both, there is the intelligent will, which, by yielding to Divine discipline, can acquire a new and better character. This action of the intelligent will, in response to the individual revelation of conscience, constitutes or implies faith No. 1. Next, if we do God's will, we know of Christ's doctrine, that it is Divine; and, if we know the infinite God in conscience, we possess the one decisive answer to difficulties regarding miracle. The character of Christ gives special weight to His words; yet after all faith or disbelief in the Christian gospel is morally conditioned—faith No. 2. Similarly, on accepting baptism and church authority, we enter a mystical fellowship with Christ's glorified humanity—faith No. 3. All these kinds of faith include their own relevant dogmas.

The last two chapters criticise Dr Martineau and Principal Caird, as writers who, in different ways, try to explain religious faith by the workings of human nature itself. Some of the criticism is strong, and much of it subtle.

As a whole, the discussion inherits from its English predecessors, and breaks new ground. Butler taught that religious faith rests on probability. Newman—not in the Anglican *University Sermons*, to which here at least Mr Hughes confines his reference, but in the *Grammar of Assent*—coined the word *Illation* to denote those subtle processes of implicit inference which defy logical analysis and verbal statement. Mr Hughes, who is reasonably distrustful of appeals from consciousness to subconscious processes, has boldly altered the meaning of *Illation*, and uses it, in a special contrast with *Induction*, the instrument for detecting natural law, as applying to probable evidence, and to regions of thought where predispositions weigh heavily. Whatever we think of these logical doctrines, the recognition that God is known by His self-revelation is a sound religious truth; and the establishment of harmony between Free Will and Divine action is admirable.

But these views of the *evidence* on which faith proceeds assume a view of the *nature* of faith itself. Faith is intellectual assent, to this or to that, *plus*—a vague something more. In other words, what Prof. Bruce has called the doctrinaire view of revelation may be assumed as axiomatically true. Is that reasonable? Should not a treatise on religious faith discuss its nature before proceeding to assort its kinds? Other followers of Kant have treated faith as a "practical certainty," and have found much comfort in the phrase "value judgment." Ritschl has his own

(not less interesting—or doubtful) doctrine of “supernatural” morals; Kaftan is as markedly nominalist as Newman, more so than Mr Hughes. It was not necessary to agree with these Germans; but would it not have been well to consider what they have advanced? Again, many have distinguished between religious truth and theological dogma. Since Schleiermacher it has been a commonplace that experience is primary, dogma secondary and approximate. Even Newman has something corresponding to this. Again, Maurice, Erskine, Campbell, Ewing have urged that Christian faith is a response to light recognised as light. Mr Hughes makes room for that once, in his interesting if precarious account of faith in God, as resting on a moral experience. Is there nothing similar in faith towards Christ? Having begun in the spirit, are we perfected by submission to dogma? Lastly, will any evangelical Christian grant that justifying faith means assent, *plus*—the outward ordinance of wonder-working Baptism?

Apart from criticisms of detail—though not unconnected with them—one feels a difficulty in the large—though not unusual—assumptions of Mr Hughes' method. Surely it need not be true that every distinction in thought corresponds to an irreducible, fundamental difference in reality. If I draw pencil lines across the map of England, I have not intersected the country with deep channels and unfathomable gulfs. If I suppose that the country is so intersected, I am gravely misled. I have only subdivided a subject for purposes of study; the hand or the mind that made the black marks can erase them again. Take it to be true that natural ethics are one thing, and supernatural ethics another; that there are three kinds of will, three principal kinds of faith, and so forth; does this enumeration conclude the task of philosophy? Nay, more; even if the various factors and forces are exhibited in a system of reciprocal relations determining each other from the outside, can that possibly be an adequate or final account of them? Motives, says Mr Hughes, are “closely analogous to the forces of mechanics.” What if it is the inveterate bias of the interpreter that insists upon discovering, everywhere and in all things—mechanism?

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

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**The Nicene Creed : A Manual for the use of Candidates  
for Holy Orders.**

*By J. J. Lias, M.A., Rector of East Bergholt, Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff; Author of "Principles of Biblical Criticism," "The Atonement," &c. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 439. Price, 6s.*

MR LIAS has chosen a subject of perennial interest, which, in spite of Pearson's great work, cannot be said to have exhausted itself. Certain it is, that as fresh controversies spring up, they must be met and refuted by new methods. In this sense Pearson on the Creed is very much out of date. In spite of all that indiscriminate praise lavished on it by college lecturers, it is still true, though in another sense of the term, that the "very dust of his writings are gold." May we not say with Ulysses—

"We give a little dust o'ergilt,  
More laud than gold o'er dusted."

In any case, the dust and the rust have lain thick for two centuries on these venerable pages. On the very front of the discussion the contrast stares us in the face. Pearson, who stands at the parting of ways when the old Puritan type was dissolving and the new Latitudinarian school was in course of formation, sets out with a conception of God the Father Almighty, which is antique and out of date. The old transcendent Deity which passed unchallenged in Pearson's day has been replaced by a new conception of a Deity immanent in his works—the centre of all force as well as the fountain head of all being. Mr Lias has been careful to note this contrast—but it is well for theological students to know all that it amounts to. If theology is in any sense the knowledge of God, surely then to know Him as He is must amount to a new theology. The contrast of old and new is scarcely emphasized to the extent that we should desire. The new Deism and the old are such very different things that we are scarcely surprised to find Pearson out of date. The term "sovereignty," which connects all that we include in the old conception of God, seems unmeaning to those who think of God as the centre of force and the fountain of Being. By Him all things consist. Not only is He before all things, He claims priority of time as His own, but He is above all, *i.e.*, all things spring from Him as effects from their causes. Personality is a term with unfortunately so many limitations encrusted around it that it has to be used with the utmost caution of God. The use of the term the "Absolute" does not get us out of the difficulty,

as Mr Lias well points out in reply to Herbert Spencer in his *First Principles*.

Mr Spencer has deduced the conclusion "that God is unknowable and must therefore be dismissed from our thoughts as a Being of whom no conceptions are possible. This creed has received the name of Agnosticism for its confession of ignorance concerning the Being of God." But as Mr Lias goes on to point out with much acumen: "As Mr Spencer shows in the course of the same argument that force, matter, space, time, individual existence, are equally unthinkable with God, it may be a question whether the 'unthinkability' of abstract ideas does not point rather to some inherent weakness in the science of metaphysics, which as yet it has been unable to conceive, than to our absolute incapacity to know anything about God. But however this may be, one thing must be regarded as certain, that this conception of God as identified with one or more of our own abstract conceptions of Him is one that cannot possibly be accepted. The God whom the Scriptures reveal to us is no mere metaphysical abstraction, but a living Being, an active force, an unceasing energy. He is not the 'Absolute,' for that term indicates one who is incapable of relation, whereas we can only conceive of God through His relation to us. He is not the Infinite, because our conception of infinity must include evil as well as good; and with evil He has not and cannot have anything in common. He is not the 'Unconditioned' because the revealed doctrine concerning Him describes His essential nature as including certain attributes which of necessity condition His action, for He is represented as essentially love, goodness, justice, wisdom and truth."

The above extract illustrates our point, that with changed aspects of theology the old defences become obsolete. It is disappointing to turn to Cudworth for instance, and to find how antiquated and unmeaning are his replies to the old forms of materialism. Hylozoism, for instance—only the term itself is uncouth, and seems as pointless as the balista and battering rams of the old siege operations. When we turn to that much discussed point in modern thought, the Divine Personality, we see much light thrown on it by Mr Lias' remarks on the subject of the Trinity. From the old Deistic standpoint it must be admitted that it is impossible any longer to predicate Personality of the Deity. Here Mr Lias' remarks are very much to the point. We speak of God as a Person, and are accustomed to speak of Father, Son and Spirit as the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. But let us pause and analyse the meaning of the word Person. The word, as Mr Lias remarks, had originally involved in it no conception of a centre of will, such as we now understand by the word *Personality*. The original



meaning is apparently *appearance*, something we can look upon. Thus the word when referred to the Blessed Trinity "would, at first sight, seem to have the interpretation *appearances*—modes of viewing the Godhead from a human standpoint. But here again the inadequacy of language as a vehicle of thought displays itself. We must not suppose, he goes on to remark, with the ancient Sabellians that these so-called Persons can be simply resolved into human modes of apprehension of the nature and work of the Divine Being. The Persons in the Blessed Trinity are revealed to us in Scripture and in the Catholic Creeds as eternal distinctions existing in the Godhead itself, and not simply in our modes of apprehending it. Though Father, Son and Spirit, as we shall presently see, are revealed to us as One in essence, yet they are also revealed as being in some senses eternally distinct from each other. The three Persons in the Trinity have but one nature and one will. The Persons of the Trinity, as Hooker remarks, are not three particular substances to whom one general nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance which *itself is particular*."

Then to sum up the question of personality in God, it is intensified and, so to speak, fixed for ever as soon as we profess faith in a Triune God. It is more than three Persons (*persona* in the sense of a mask worn by a player), it is three substances, and as co-substantial can never be mixed or confounded. The relationship of Father to Son, and of Son to Spirit, is integral and indissoluble. We never can confound the Person any more than the work of either of these three Persons. Deism may lose the sense of personality in God, and so easily lapse into Pantheism, as it is constantly in danger of doing; but this is never the case with the devout believer in the Trinity as co-operant in the whole plan of redemption.

On the subject of the Double Procession Mr Lias has some suggestive remarks. It is well known that the *filioque* clause sprang up in the West when the reaction against the over dominant Arianism was most sharply felt. In 589 King Recared of Spain, who had just abjured Arianism, inserted the word *filioque* in his copy of the Nicene Creed. Thence the phrase passed to France; but the sixth General Council held at Constantinople in 682 paid no regard to it, but recited the Creed as it had been handed down. In 809, however, the Emperor Charles the Great, who had assumed the title of Emperor of the West, presumed to play the part of Constantine, and at a Council held at Aachen the new phrase of the Double Procession was formulated and supported by the authority of the ancient Fathers. The decrees of the Council were sent to the Pope, Leo III., for his confirmation. To this the Pope replied in language of great moderation. He

prudently shrank from opposing the mighty Karl, at the same time he hinted that nothing should be added to or taken from the Creed but by the decision of a General Council. He also threw doubt on the wisdom of tampering with a single phrase in a Creed which was accepted by the Universal Church. The question belonged to the deeper and more subtle mysteries of our holy faith (*sacræ fidei altiora mysteria subtiliora sacramenta*) and should be reserved for the consideration of those who were capable of entering into them. "To bring matters to a point, the Pope caused the Creed to be engraved on two silver shields *without* the clause Charles had proposed to insert, and he had it hung up in the most conspicuous place in his church (*pro cautelâ orthodoxæ fidei*) as he puts it." In this the Pope was no doubt speaking *ex cathedrâ*, especially as he was supported by the decision of a predecessor. But to sum up this tedious controversy—when the strife between East and West became sharp and embittered there followed as a result of opposition that as the East inflexibly adhered to the old formula, so the West having at first only admitted the Double Procession at last formulated it by admission into her Creed. Here the intruding clause having once gained a foothold made good its ground, and at last it became the flag under which the West fought out its controversies with the East.

So matters remained for centuries. The chasm between East and West only widened as time went on. It was only when the revolt against the Vatican decrees in 1870 sprang up that there came a new turn of affairs. The Old Catholic party drew up a formula of concord from the works of the great schoolman of the East, John of Damascus, and in revising the offices of the Roman Church they struck out the *filioque* clause altogether from the Nicene Creed, while the Old Catholics of Germany have bracketed it as an unauthorised addition. This courageous decision on the part of the Old Catholics may be said to be the first step towards a formal reunion between East and West. The formula of concord, however, was intended to meet the case of those who had inherited the *filioque* clause and who do not see their way after so long a time to withdraw it. The ground of jealousy of the Eastern Church against the hyper-orthodox innovation of the West seems to be reasonable if we only bear in mind the conception of God as the one *ἀρχή*. Are we not in danger of Dualism if we admit even in thought that there is more than one fountain of Being—the Eternal Father, of whom are all things and by whom are all things.

But we need not discuss at further length the standing ground of controversy between East and West—nor have we the smallest doubt that as soon as a real desire for reconciliation between the two sundered branches of Christendom springs up, this *filioque*

clause will not be allowed to stand in the way of a real reunion of Christendom. As soon as the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace begins to be shed abroad in men's hearts, these liturgical differences will roll off by themselves and take themselves away as the mists of night gather around the mountain side and melt away in the light of the morning sun.

But we have said enough of Mr Lias' book. As a manual for divinity students it is a useful handbook, and may safely be described as a recast of Pearson and up to date. We cannot help regretting that, having done so much for the student, Mr Lias had not taken one step further. Such an outline of the history of the Creeds as that which the late Professor Harvey has given us would be more instructive even than the exposition *seriatim* of the several clauses of the Creed. We may trace in the Creeds the evolution of Christian doctrine. There is a ring of old controversies in the very phrases in use; "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God" could only have arisen in the desire to controvert the bye-ends of the Arian and semi-Arian which alike impaired the full glory of the Person of Christ. These scars of battle are in all our Creeds, and as the age grows later so the strife waxes louder and the tone becomes more stiff and dogmatic. So we are called to contend earnestly for a faith delivered once for all to the saints. Our dislike of dogmatism must never push us into forgetting the importance of a definite form of sound words. As a valuable help to the intelligent student, we welcome the work of Mr Lias. He has read into the old Confession much of the new lights of modern thought, and so has put into our hands a work fully up to date, as he stands on the old paths and considers the new.

J. B. HEARD.

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### **The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Chapters i.-xxxix.**

*With Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, London. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1896. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. lxxix. 295. Price, 4s.*

THIS volume of the Cambridge Bible is terse, definite, and lucid, to an extent only possible to an author who is master of his subject and has taken great pains. We trust that this work may not be the only fruit of the labour spent on Isaiah i.-xxxix. The Cambridge Bible was apparently intended at the outset to provide elementary hand-books for school use. But the editor put the

books into the hands of some of the most distinguished English Old Testament scholars. Naturally, therefore, the circulation has by no means been confined to schoolboys, and the authors, finding that their readers embraced more advanced students, have provided much that only such students can understand. Hence the present, like many other volumes, is a compromise. In concession to the school-room, it mars the usefulness and clearness of the notes, by printing as its text the Authorised Version in the traditional arrangement; while, by way of atonement to the student, a small but appreciable portion of the notes deals with points of Hebrew grammar and etymology, unintelligible to English readers. We will not waste our sympathies on the latter, they probably enjoy a flavour of mysterious scholarship. But Hebrew students, while grateful for these small mercies, will feel that they are never even supposed to be adequate; and will wish that Dr Skinner would use the material he has collected to provide a text-book on Isaiah for their benefit. Then the present volume might be more closely adapted to the needs of those who know no Hebrew.

We must congratulate our author on the comparatively simple views he has attained as to the utterances and teaching of Isaiah. Stated in his firm, authoritative fashion, they have a coherence that goes far to be convincing, especially as the accent of authority is not dogmatic or obtrusive, but unconscious.

Dr Skinner, indeed, regards the complete book of Isaiah as the result of a long and complex series of editings, which cannot now be traced in detail, and which cannot be proved to have closed before the beginning of the second century, B.C. But he accepts the division of i.-xxxix. into four parts; (*A*) i.-xii.; (*B*) xiii.-xxvii.; (*C*) xxviii.-xxxv.; (*D*) xxxvi.-xxxix. *A*, *B* and *C* once circulated as separate books, while *D*, of course, is a historical appendix, mainly taken from Kings. Apart from short interpolations, the main body of *A*, *B* and *C* is, in each case, Isaiah's own work; but while they were still circulating as separate collections, non-Isaianic matter was added to each by way of appendix; and, in one case, such matter was placed at the beginning of a collection; and, in one, even inserted in the middle—at any rate, probably. Thus, in *A*, i.—xi. 9 is Isaiah, xi. 10—xii. a non-Isaianic appendix; in *B*, xiv. 24—xx., xxii.—xxiii. 14 are Isaiah; while foreign matter has been added at the beginning, xiii.—xiv. 23, at the end, xxiii. 15—xxvii., and “probably” in the middle, xxi.; in *C*, xxviii.—xxxii. is Isaiah, xxxiii.—xxxv. a non-Isaianic appendix. His position is thus akin to that of Prof. Driver and the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith. Our author's views as to what portions of these chapters are Isaiah's work determine the data for a theory of the prophet's teaching; and his acceptance of a large body of utterances involves large and

full conceptions of the teaching. For instance, the ascription to Isaiah of the great Messianic passages, ii. 2-4, iv. 2-6, ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9, obviously credits the prophet with a very striking doctrine of the Messiah. In other ways, too, Dr Skinner credits Isaiah with a theology much more advanced than that which many scholars are willing to recognise in a pre-exilic author. Dr Skinner regards Isaiah as consciously and definitely a monotheist, in the fullest and strictest sense, *e.g.*, on xxxi. 3 he writes: "What separated him (Isaiah) from his hearers was the conviction that there is but one Divine Person, and one spiritual power in the universe, viz., Jehovah and His moral government as revealed in the consciousness of the prophet." Other characteristic doctrines are—the exclusive holiness of Jehovah, *i.e.*, His unique deity; His "glory," *i.e.*, nature as the expression and symbol of His majesty; that history is the unfolding and realisation of Jehovah's purpose for humanity; the necessity that Israel must live by faith in order to attain salvation; and the Messianic faith that Zion is inviolable, and will ultimately be the home of the Remnant, the purged and purified Israel, under the rule of a Righteous King. Isaiah has also much in common with Amos, Hosea and Micah.

Few scholars will claim for Isaiah the passages which Dr Skinner rejects; but a glance at the appendix to Dr Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* will show that the latter is far less liberal than Dr Skinner; as are also such critics as Duhm and Cornill—with differences, of course, as to degree and detail. Whatever may be the ultimate decision—if any is ever arrived at—as to the analysis of the book of Isaiah, many students would do well to pause at the position assumed in this volume, and adopt it as a working hypothesis. Even if it proves to be only a halting-place on the way to a more accurate criticism, the time and thought spent in putting it to the test will enable them to give a reason for the faith in which they finally repose.

W. H. BENNETT.

### **The Age of Hildebrand.**

*By Marvin R. Vincent, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church Series, Edited by John Fulton, D.D., LL.D.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 457. Price, 6s.*

### **The Age of the Great Western Schism.**

*By Clinton Locke, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 314. Price, 6s.*

DR VINCENT'S volume is one of what promises to be an exceedingly useful series of books on "The Eras of the Christian Church."



They are designed to be a set of "popular monographs, giving, so to speak, a bird's-eye view of the most important epochs of the life of the Church," and specially suited to readers who are not in a position to make a profound study of ecclesiastical history. The present volume treats not only of Hildebrand and his arrogant design of making the Papacy supreme over the State as well as over the Church, but also of the bold attempt of Boniface VIII. to absorb the power of the Empire into the Papacy, the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, the Crusades, the Scholastic philosophy and theology, the conditions of monastic and clerical life, the beginnings of the modern national spirit, the establishment and progress of Universities. Here assuredly is an extensive programme, large and difficult enough to try the metal of any writer, but we are bound to say that in our judgment the author seems to avail himself of the best authorities, and to handle his material in an able, careful and interesting manner. The book is well written; the interest of the reader is arrested at the beginning and held throughout, and what appears a fair and well-considered representation of the facts is given. The career of Hildebrand, and his relations with Henry IV. of Germany, lend themselves to graphic and even dramatic narrative, of which we have a shining example in Sir James Stephen's memorable article on Hildebrand in his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. If one misses here the masterly breadth of treatment and the irresistible spell of graphic narrative with which Sir James Stephen carries his reader forward, the lack of these qualities is in some measure compensated for by the conscientious care with which, at critical points where difference of opinion exists, the evidence is weighed, and a conclusion cautiously reached.

In a work which so adequately fulfils its main purpose it may be thought invidious to notice slight defects, but the best service which a critic can do the writer of a good book is to point out where, in his judgment, it might be improved. For one thing, the reference to the development of the papal power, and to the moral degradation in the papacy which preceded the time of Hildebrand, in the introductory chapter, is much too meagre to be satisfactory. It would have been better to curtail a little elsewhere, if necessary, in order to lay before the reader a fuller and more exact statement of the successive stages in the growth of the papacy, and of the events and influences which contributed to it. Perhaps, too, the unwary reader might get a wrong impression from the way in which, at one point, the matter is put. "The Roman Church," Dr Vincent says, "began as early as the second century to assert a certain precedence, not of the Bishop but of the Church, and this tendency was stimulated by the removal of the imperial

seat to Constantinople in 330; only *the ground of the claim was shifted since the prospect of a rival city made it expedient to base it on the descent of the Church from St Peter* rather than on the superior importance of the city" (p. 5). But was not the alleged descent of the Church from St Peter made the ground of the claim long before 330? Is not the idea of the Roman Episcopate of Peter abroad in the third century, as in the "*Chronicle of Hippolytus*" (see Lightfoot's *St Clement of Rome*, i. 264) and in Cyprian, who calls the Roman See "the chair of Peter" and the *locus Petri* (Cypr. Ep. 59. 14; 58. 8)? Historians generally are agreed that the legend of the Petrine Episcopate of Rome originated in, or at least was promoted by, the pseudo-Clementine fictions, before the end of the second century.

Sometimes again (to refer to another point) the patience of the reader is tried, and the interest of the narrative impaired by the intrusion of matters rather external to it. The interesting story of Thomas à Becket, for example, is a good deal interrupted in this way; or at least a little additional expenditure of artistic skill might have fitted it better into the general history, and given more unity to it. These, however, are minor matters.

Very just, we think, is the picture given of Hildebrand (p. 119 *sq.*) as an ecclesiastic who "arose above the moral level of his age only on the side of the grosser vices," but whose "ideals of veracity, justice and charity were those of a secular mediæval despot." Our author hesitates about saying that "in him principle was habitually subordinated to policy." He might have said with a good conscience that it was often so. Thus, in one instance, Gregory sacrificed both his own personal convictions and his friend Berengar into the bargain. Even in the prosecution of his main purpose, the assertion of the supremacy of the papal power, he repeatedly sacrificed his principle to convenience. He temporised in his dealings with Philip of France, who was hardly less steeped in dissoluteness and in simony than Henry. William the Conqueror of England and Robert the Conqueror of Sicily were equally cruel and simoniacal, but the holy vicar of heaven, who wanted their assistance, had no angry menaces for them, no exhortations to repentance. On the contrary, he winked at their iniquities, and overflowed with expressions of goodwill. He temporised no less in his relations with Henry IV. himself. He sent the crown to Rudolf with his benediction, and encouraged him to expect his support; but seeing that Henry was recovering his power, and foreseeing a desperate civil conflict, in which thousands of lives would be sacrificed and seas of blood spilt, and the possible triumph of Henry, the cunning old man delays, writes ambiguous letters to the rivals, and anticipates the determination of the Vicar

of Bray to be on the winning side. At length "a voice from heaven" came to him, guiding him to a decision; but "the voice from heaven" was strangely silent till the news reached him of Henry's defeat by Rudolf. When his intimate friend, Cardinal Peter Damiani, who knew him well, called him playfully in a letter "Sanctus Satanas," the joke was too perilously near the mark to be relished by Gregory. Not playfully, but with scathing sarcasm, Sir James Stephen says with special reference to Gregory (we quote only from memory): "Nature gave horns to bulls; to aspiring and belligerent churchmen she gave dissimulation and artifice."

With regard to Becket's struggle with Henry II. we think the view given by Dr Vincent much nearer the truth than that of Wakeman in his recent *History of the Church of England*. According to the latter, Becket was fighting for the liberties of the Church and of the English people, and he died as "a witness to the right of the Church to independence of the civil power, an advocate of liberty against overweening authority." It seems to us more correct to say with Dr Vincent that Becket was "the representative of the Gregorian ecclesiasticism," that he was an advocate of "overweening" ecclesiastical authority, of a spiritual despotism that would have made the papal power supreme over the State, and England a slave to it. Such a slavery would have been even more odious than that caused by the rule of an absolute king. Altogether, the volume before us, which has been sent from the press in admirable external garb, is an excellent piece of work.

"We have to consider in this volume," says the author of *The Age of the Great Western Schism*, "the tremendous blow that the papal pretensions received; the prestige which the papacy lost by the transference of the seat of its power to Avignon; the vast consequences of the great Western schism; the noble efforts of the Councils of Basel and Pisa and Constance to reform the Church; the lives of Wyclif and of Huss; and with these great questions others of less importance, such as the mysterious episode of the ruin of the Templars, the terrors of the Black Death, the story of the Flagellants, the career of Rienzi, and the victory of national languages over the Latin tongue." The book is written with considerable life and vigour of style, and has undoubtedly the quality of being readable. It thus fairly realizes the aim of the series to which it belongs, which is that they should be "popular monographs." Mostly, though not always, pains appear to have been taken by the writer in the ascertainment of his facts. He mentions several historians to whom he is indebted, but seems to

depend chiefly on Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, and Milman's *Latin Christianity*; and he succeeds in weaving his material into an easy and flowing narrative. The book, however, is generally on a lower level than the volume just noticed, both as regards the research and the style. We have seldom come across a work by an American writer which has so many peculiarities of phrase to which we are unaccustomed on this side the Atlantic. The form "did not have" occurs constantly where we are content with "had": Clement "did not have even the slight merit of hiding his immorality" (p. 28); "the Pope did not have to contend" (p. 31); "he did not have long to wait" (p. 57); "it did not have the evil effect" (p. 75). Such flowers of speech as "everything was all arranged" (p. 12); "the king determined to down the gigantic spectre which threatened his very life" (p. 16); "the university would not *hear to it*" (p. 36); "the Pope's partisans would not *hear to that*" (p. 163); Rienzi's "mother took in washing to *help pay* the family expenses" (p. 49); "it is a melancholy *exhibit* of what made a saint in those days" (p. 76); "they would *illy* tolerate" (p. 83); "his Cardinals fondly hoped that the schism would *finish*, and that the world would," &c. (p. 105); "the Pope commenced *dickering* with Ladislas" (p. 145); "the police were well organized, and before a riot could *materialize*, peace and order were restored"—such forms of expression are too strange to our ears to be altogether agreeable. The giving of bribes is "the greasing of palms," and Cardinals who have a difficulty in making up their minds, or who maintain a neutral attitude, are "on the fence." We doubt if such *outré* and slang phraseology would be employed by good writers, or recognised as good English in the United States; and we are pretty confident that to say that "everywhere it (the Black Death) found all things swept and garnished for it, for sanitation was unknown, the habits of the populace filthy, the laws of contagion scarcely outlined even, except by a few of the learned" (p. 60), would be regarded anywhere as a remarkable and somewhat mixed metaphor. But there are graver faults than these.

Wyclif, Huss and the Waldenses get scant justice at the hands of our author, who shows an incapacity in appreciating them and their work which would be mysterious only that he naively betrays the reason of his lack of sympathy. "He (Wyclif) seems to have entirely mistaken the nature of the Church. . . . He recognised only the two orders of priest and deacon; in fine, he was a Predestinarian in religion, a Presbyterian in church government, and almost a Zwinglian in his late views of the Eucharist." Is not this enough to disturb the equanimity of any well-ordered mind? How could Wyclif be otherwise than revolutionary? And did no

his revolutionary sentiments bear fruit in the peasants' war? "When the English peasants under John Ball attempted to reduce it (Wyclif's revolutionary doctrine) to practice, it so disgusted the great mass of Englishmen that they disregarded generally Wyclif's teaching; and it forms a complete explanation of the entire and total neglect into which Wyclifism fell in England" (217). Here is quite a medley of errors. Lechler has, we think, conclusively shown that neither Wyclif nor his philosophical doctrine with regard to property, had anything to do with the peasants' revolt (see his *John Wycliffe*, English translation by Dr Lorimer, pp. 371-378). As to the allegation that Wyclifism fell into "entire and total neglect" in England, it is singularly at variance with the facts. According to the testimony even of Wyclif's opponents, half the population of England had become Lollards, or followers of Wyclif, twenty years after his death. His bitter adversary, Knighton, says, "you could scarcely meet two persons in the road but one of them would be a disciple of Wyclif." And his disciples embraced several persons from the higher ranks of Society, and many of them, including Lord Cobham, were hanged or burned as heretics. After an interval of fifty years the burnings were again resumed, and in 1511, at the dawn of the Reformation, we know from a letter of Erasmus that they were still proceeding. At the instance of the Council of Constance Wycliffe's body was dug up fifty-four years after his death, and its ashes thrown into the river Swift; Fuller's quaint and memorable saying with regard to which should have saved our author from such a blunder: "This brook conveyed them into Avon, Avon into the Severn, the Severn unto the narrow Seas, they into the main ocean. And the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

JAMES HERON.

### **The Age of the Crusades.**

*By James M. Ludlow, D.D. (Eras of the Christian Church.)*  
*Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Extra crown 8vo,*  
*pp. 389. Price, 6s.*

It is pleasant to have the age of the Crusades recognized in a series of handbooks of Church History as an Era of the Christian Church. They have suffered neglect too long at the hands of our historians. Too religious a movement for the merely secular writer, too wide to demand exhaustive treatment in the histories of the separate nations, too crude in their aspirations and defective in their methods for the purposes of spiritual edification, leaving



behind no residue of reasoned doctrine and but little of ecclesiastical organisation, they have been noticed by the historians of these departments with interest and often with wonder, and then handed over to others. So the historian who shall devote his strength to them is still to come. Yet the recent increase of works on this subject seems to presage his appearance; and the growing sense of the "Unity of History," especially of secular and sacred history makes the times more ripe. He will have a worthy task—a vast movement to which every western Christian land yields its means and its best minds, gathering strength from deep and subtle spiritual aspirations, sustained through six generations as the great effort of the Christian world, and affecting the whole field of human thought and life with far-reaching results.

All this makes a difficult subject for a handbook. This one is a piece of faithful work. The "inquiry into the conditions of life and thought which facilitated or prompted the great movement" is the discreet distillation of extensive reading; the "results of the crusades" are, though shortly, fairly stated; the long and tangled story is well mapped out under its separate heads, and the due proportion between them, very unlike some kindred works, is particularly well observed. The honest labour of the book has left few subjects untouched, and having short chapters, short and simple sentences, and clear, concise forms of expression, it is a good guide. Yet it is no mere skeleton, for the story is told with sufficient fulness to make it readable.

But while it describes the enthusiasm of the Crusades, it does not infect the reader with it. He who writes the coming history must go deeper into their less tangible spiritual roots, must better realise the pictorial element which is so large a factor with the rude and childish mind, must have more sympathy with imperfect ideals, and must be abler to make the leading characters live, for however rude, ill-regulated, and inconsistent they were, they were full of what all men feel is life. We miss some notice of the Latin kingdom which the Crusaders kept going in Palestine for eighty-eight years. As in one sense the definite object of the enterprise, and the successfully attained object, apart from its being the best sample of a state organised with a free hand upon the best theories of the day, and apart from its very ecclesiastical character, its arrangements and the means for its maintenance deserved a short chapter.

Some notice might also have been taken of the profound change in the conduct of the Crusades which was introduced by the adoption of the sea route. There is a confusing variation of the numbers attached to the different expeditions, some writers counting seven, others eight, and others nine. Dr Ludlow counts eight, and this

seems to give the best representation of the facts. According to this scheme the Crusade which resulted in the Latin kingdom at Constantinople was not the fifth but the fourth.

To the English, which on the whole is good, some exception must be taken. "Practicalise," "zealotry," "contestant," though not accepted words, have been used by English writers, but what about "addubbed" and "enthused"? To this last, Webster's Dictionary, not too severe upon Americanisms, attaches the word "*slang*." And what has Sigurd the Crusader done that he should be made unrecognisable by old acquaintances in the guise of Sigur, which is no misprint, for it reappears in the same form in the index. Such blots as these, are, however, rare in this useful and welcome book.

ALEXANDER MILLER.

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### **The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.**

*The Books of the Chronicles. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure of the Book, with notes by R. Kittel, D.D., Professor in the University of Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 81. Price, 6s. net.*

PROFESSOR KITTEL, in the valuable articles which he has contributed to *Studien* and *Kritiken*—I refer particularly to his useful contribution in 1892 on the critical problems of Judges and Samuel—has shown himself to be one of the more cautious among the comparatively younger Old Testament scholars of Germany. Those who have carefully studied his *History of the Hebrews* will expect sobriety of judgment, wide erudition and scholarly accuracy in any work produced by this author. Those who come to the present edition of the Books of Chronicles, contributed to the series of Sacred Books of the O.T., edited by Dr Haupt, will naturally anticipate solid work, and in this they will not be disappointed. Evident care and critical skill have been exercised in the literary analysis of this late portion of Hebrew literature, the earlier sections being vividly presented to the eye in *red*, as distinguished from the later Midrashic passages. In the valuable notes appended to the volume minute philological accuracy is the distinctive characteristic. Especially upon the forms of the proper names, which crowd the Hebrew text, we have many excellent and instructive notes containing abundant references to literature—an admirable feature which marks this work like the author's *Geschichte der Hebräer*. Thus, in 1 Chron. ii. 40-41,

and viii. 34, we have an apposite citation from CIS., while at the beginning of the notes a long and interesting discussion on קִינֵן elicits some interesting facts respecting the actual pronunciation of Hebrew vowels and diphthongs as illustrated by Greek transcription. In some cases the Assyriological expert comes to the aid of the Hebrew commentator, as in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. On this passage we infer that Dr Haupt is the author of the bracketed note in which a wealth of illustration (including the well-known equivalence *têrtu* = תִּרְתָּר), is devoted in almost excessive abundance to prove that ê is interchangeable with ô, so that עִלּוֹם maybe עוֹלָם = עוֹלָם.

The note on 2 Chron. iii. 1 makes us regret that we do not already possess the corresponding edition of 1 Kings "in colours" of the S.B.O.T. series by Professors Schwally and Socin. This would enable us to elucidate the complex architectural details of 1 Kings vi. foll., with their recurring obscurities and textual corruptions. But we must wait in patience, and, meanwhile, take due note of Professor Kittel's remark, that "the text of the Book of Kings, which served the chronicler as a basis for his work, resembled the present Massoretic text of Kings much more closely than it resembled the original autograph of the historical documents."

On one special point (2 Chron. i. 16) we feel compelled to express our dissent from the conclusions of our author. We consider that he pays far too much deference to the opinions of that ingenious and indefatigable Assyriologist and Old Testament scholar, Dr Hugo Winckler, in the long note which has been appended to elucidate the enigmatical reading מִמְּצָרִים וּמִקְנָא סַחְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִקְנָא (comp. 1 Kings x. 28). Kamphausen's suggested solution of the textual problem in 1 Kings x. 28, which is followed by Kautzsch in this passage, appears to us safer than Kittel's proposal to transpose and read . . . וּסַחְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִקְנָא מִקְנָא, "the king's traders getting every time a troop," which seems to us far fetched and cumbrous. Nor does the LXX reading *θεκove* or the variant *καὶ ἐκ κωα* furnish any satisfactory clue. Winckler's suggestion of Kuê in East Cilicia, originally propounded in 1892 (*A.T.-liche Unters.* i. p. 172), loses force now that he has changed his view respecting *mât musri*, and placed the latter in North Arabia (near Edom), instead of Northern Syria (*Altorient. Forschungen*, p. 25 foll.). Dr Winckler's theory, which endeavours to establish the identification of this Assyr. *mât Musri*, with the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם in many O.T. passages, must be approached with caution, though its application to Gen. xvi. 1 (comp. Gen. xxi. 9) has a certain verisimilitude. As for Dr Winckler's contention that Egypt was not capable of breeding horses, the evidence he quotes is very far from decisive.

The citation from Erman in the footnote of *A.T.-liche Unters.*, p. 173, hardly supports the author's argument. Moreover, it is quite possible that horses were imported into Egypt, and specially trained for use with chariots. We know, from Sir Gardner Wilkinson's pages, that chariots were manufactured in Egypt, and the export of both chariots and horses into Judea in the days of Solomon, when close dynastic relations subsisted between the two kingdoms (1 Kings iii. 1) must be regarded as antecedently far from improbable.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

### **Die Religiös-Sittliche Weltanschauung des Buches der Sprüche in ihrem inneren Zusammenhange.**

*Dargestellt von D. Phil. Richard Pfeiffer, Ev. Pfarrer in Sulzbach.  
Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchandlung; Edinburgh  
and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 264.  
Price, M.5.*

EXEGETICAL literature on the book of Proverbs is scanty. In German the commentaries worth consulting might almost be numbered on the fingers of one hand; in English, if we exclude translations, it may be safe to say that the number is smaller still. The commentaries which have been written upon the book appear for the most part in a series, as if hardly any one had been drawn to expound it for its own sake. The scarcity of good monographs points in the same direction. Dr Pfeiffer therefore has the field largely free before him when he undertakes to describe the ethico-religious view of God and the world exhibited in this portion of Scripture. His introduction is brief. In it he sketches, too hastily as it seems to us, his view of the construction of "Proverbs" and the probable dates of its various parts. When an author protests in his opening sentences against current critical theories of development in Old Testament religion and opposes to them his own examination of a particular period, he should make the foundations of his structure as secure as possible. The passing references to Cornill, König, and Bickell, do not adequately deal with the chief arguments for differing views of the book of Proverbs, and this section of the book is scanty and insufficient. We say this the more freely, because in the main we agree with the critical position of the author and not with the scholars above cited. Dr Pfeiffer's case might have been strengthened, had he devoted twenty pages to his introduction instead of five.

The body of the work is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with the conception of God characteristic of "Pro-

verbs," the significance of "Wisdom" described in it, and its ethical teaching. Each of these parts is subdivided into sections, which deal with such cardinal subjects as the aspects of the Divine character portrayed in this portion of Scripture, the historical development of the "Chokma" idea, the moral teaching of Wisdom in relation to individual conduct, and to family and social life, and the view taken in "Proverbs" of rewards and punishments, in which is naturally included a discussion of the question whether the book contains any hints of a life beyond the grave. The whole treatise forms a very complete examination of the subject of which it treats, and is a useful contribution to Biblical theology. Schultz and Oehler, in their general works on Old Testament theology, have described from different points of view the subject undertaken by Dr Pfeiffer, but it well deserves the separate and more extended study which it receives in this interesting monograph. Dr Pfeiffer writes clearly, reasons fairly, expounds soberly, and draws his conclusions judiciously. If in this brief notice we dwell more on points of difference than of agreement, this is the way of critics, and must not be understood to detract from a very hearty appreciation of the book as a whole.

One thing surprises us, that the author has not given more attention to the relation of the various collections of proverbs to one another, especially as indicated by the repetition of the same proverb in different forms. It is but occasionally, as for example in pp. 67-74, that he hints at a development which he himself describes as a relation like that between bud and flower. The fact that many critics are all too keen to discern "development" where it does not exist, need not blind more conservative writers to obvious marks of growth. And in Proverbs, especially, the lines of demarcation between sections lie upon the surface and the occurrence of duplicate proverbial sayings demands examination. Of course in collections of miscellaneous proverbs, where the question of authorship is almost necessarily excluded and dates can only be approximately fixed, generalisations as to "development" need to be cautiously made. But while Dr Pfeiffer writes very interestingly on the advance discernible in chs. i.-ix., he misses, as we think, points which a closer examination would have brought out. His view of the compilation of the whole book is as follows. Taking the notice of ch. xxv. 1 as a fixed starting point, and the time of Hezekiah as *terminus ad quem* for the formation of the second collection (xxv.-xxxix.), the preceding collection (x. 1—xxii. 16) naturally falls earlier; but Pfeiffer says very little concerning the *terminus a quo* or the extent to which proverbs from Solomon's own time may be found in the



group called by his name. Chs. i.-ix. the author holds to be pre-exilic, written probably during the later monarchy; the section xxii. 17—xxiv. 22 is to be joined with this, ch. xxiv. 23-34 forming a short appendix. The Agur sayings are later than chs. xxv.-xxix., and may be compared with the book of Job, while the two parts of ch. xxxi.—the Lemuel section and the acrostic in praise of the Virtuous Woman—belong also to the pre-exilic period, but to a late portion of it. It will be seen that Dr Pfeiffer is a moderate conservative in his views of dates and composition, and we could wish that he had devoted a little more space to the historical side

his subject, and thus strengthened his sound arguments against the advocates of a later date. No English works are named in the bibliography. Cheyne's *Job and Solomon* should surely have found a place in it, and the author would have done his work more completely if he had considered some of the points raised by the English critic.

A detailed examination of the *Welt-Anschauung* of Proverbs as described by our author is impossible. Two or three examples may illustrate his point of view. He lays stress upon the use of the name Jahve, and unfolds its connotation at some length. He says very suggestively (p. 14) that a right understanding of the meaning of this name is the best protection against naturalistic caricatures of religious development in Israel. He does not, however, sufficiently meet the objections of those who make the very loftiness and spirituality characteristic of the "Jehovah" of Proverbs an evidence of comparatively late date. Very fully and excellently does Dr Pfeiffer shew that this name indicates no mere Force of nature, but a free and absolute Personality, absolute in power, in intelligence, and in moral operation. The deeply religious aspect of "Proverbs"—the remark is true in all sections of the book, though in varying degree—has usually been under-estimated. Canon Cheyne only reflects a prevailing view when he says, "It is not clear to me that these wise men were preoccupied by religion;" the "tone of the secular proverbs is not from a Christian point of view an elevated one;" the "ethical principle is prudential;" these writers "are clearly not in the van of religious thought." These surely are surface-views. There is a sense in which such language might be justified; but a closer study of "Proverbs" shews the profoundly religious basis of its whole ethical structure, and some of these wise men utter deep, sonorous spiritual notes worthy of the loftiest prophetism. It is one of the excellences of Dr Pfeiffer's book that he gives due weight to this element without exaggerating it.

The view taken of Wisdom is conditioned by the view given of God. Pfeiffer's exposition of the Chokma idea—see especially p.

95—is interesting. It is described as the Thought of the world as a finite being, existing through, in, and for God, a Thought which has become objective for the Divine Spirit who sees in Wisdom as in a mirror His own eternal idea reflected. The relation of the Hebrew Chokma to Socratic and Greek philosophy generally is well brought out on p. 114 foll., the religious faith implied in the former being strongly emphasized. The most interesting part of the volume, but that which least lends itself to treatment in a review, deals with the application of wisdom to the details of personal, family, and social life. The mine of suggestive teaching on these points contained in Proverbs is well worked by our author. Here his exegetical faculty comes into play. The pages are nowhere overloaded with minute details, but the author's discussion of the obscure passages in which "Proverbs" abounds is conducted with great skill and judgment. The separate notes on the often-discussed difficulties of ch. xxx. 4 (p. 24) and viii. 22 (p. 37) are good samples of this. The scattered remarks on exegesis are often full of insight; and, while Dr Pfeiffer is in the main conservative in relation to the text, here and there he ventures a happy conjectural emendation.

One of the subjects which most fully call out this exegetical faculty is the question whether Proverbs contains any allusion to immortality. Ewald and Delitzsch have been followed by some English writers in their contention that some proverbs necessarily imply a hope of life beyond the grave. It may be open to discussion whether x. 25, "the righteous is an everlasting foundation," xi. 4, "righteousness delivereth from death," xii. 28, "in the path of righteousness there is no death," xiv. 32, "the righteous hath hope in his death," and some similar utterances warrant this conclusion. Dr Pfeiffer subjects them to careful examination—the discussion of text and interpretation of xii. 28 on p. 244 foll. furnishes a good specimen of expository skill—and also the passages in which *Sheol* occurs. He comes to the conclusion that no hope of future reward animated "the wise" in their pursuit of wisdom, but that the typically Jewish view which limited the moral and spiritual horizon to the present life is taken for granted throughout. In this he appears to us to be right, though in the case of one or two passages we hesitate, and we very heartily agree with the protest which the author makes against the view that the ethical tone of the book, on this supposition, is low and unspiritual. The conditions of the Jewish dispensation must be taken into the account. The ethical value of "prudential" or "utilitarian" considerations varies with that *Welt-Anschauung* which, in the case of the *Chakamim*, it is the object of our author to describe. A world governed by a righteous and gracious God, in which the upright

would sooner or later be rewarded—though sometimes adversity might be sent as fatherly chastisement—is in itself an elevating conception, and a man who believed he was living in such a world and had no revelation of any other, could hardly do better than regulate his life by that fear of Jehovah which was the beginning of wisdom and the secret of all worldly well-being. If some of the proverbs are found to deal with comparatively trivial details, and others with underlying spiritual principles, that is only what might be expected in such a collection of collections of various utterances upon the most various subjects. "There are diversities of operations, but the same Spirit" is a saying which finds illustration in the Old Testament as well as in the New; its application to the book of Proverbs is one of the chief features of Dr Pfeiffer's thoughtful and interesting volume.

W. T. DAVISON.

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### Christianity and Idealism.

*By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Publications of the Philosophical Union of the University of California. Edited by G. H. Howison, LL.D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. Vol. II. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Pp. xxxviii. 216. Price, 5s. net.*

THE members of the philosophical school which Professor Watson ornaments commonly attain marked success in works of the character of "Christianity and Idealism." Indeed it has often been suggested that only when they take us up into an exceeding high mountain, and show us all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof, can they properly be said to succeed. However this may be, Professor Watson's new book is an admirable specimen of the art of extracting the essence from multitudinous facts without troubling about the many problems that lie embedded in them. The Hegelian attitude is preserved throughout, but the author, for the most part, rids himself of the formal machinery incident to the categories, and usually with happy results.

Of course procedure of this kind invariably reminds one of the defects of its excellencies. To consider the historical connection between Morality and Religion; the pre-Christian evolution of Greek and Jewish Ideals; the Christian Ideal and its mediæval development; the nature of Idealism; the relation of Idealism to Agnosticism and to the special sciences; and the relation of Christianity to Idealistic Philosophy in the compass of some 200 widely-printed pages, is an impossible task for any man, and with most

would inevitably lead to scrappiness or to mere snapshot generalities. Professor Watson is not in such hopeless case, and the charm of his work centres in the rapid presentation of results of wide reading and lengthened reflection, the processes being all the while suppressed. As has been said, defects are inseparable from the method. They are present most prominently in the chapter on the Jewish Ideal. Here the old fallacy that the essence of Judaism is to be found in the law reappears in an exaggerated form—exaggerated by the apparent absoluteness of the deliverance. Prophetism, not in what it did, but in the statement of the ideal that it failed to embody, constitutes the Jewish contribution to religious thought. And, apart from this view, the essential relation of Christianity to Judaism cannot be adequately set forth. So, naturally, it is missed in what follows. Professor Watson's account of the Christian Ideal is remarkable, not merely for the absence of any reference to the Incarnation—which, as a fact, not a doctrine, is not covered by his prefatory exclusion of doctrine—but also for complete forgetfulness that the Incarnation takes its place in religious evolution as the characteristic contribution of Christianity, because here the ideal of Prophetism became actual. Similar reasons, one can gather, lead to the objection (201) against regarding God as personal. I am free to confess that on this question Professor Watson seems to me unfaithful to his own principles. If Idealism be true, as I conclude it is, and if it be carried out to its only logical conclusions, is it possible for man to envisage God otherwise than as a person? It might indeed be urged that, as Professor Watson's whole tendency is to show that Hegel was not Hegelian enough, so here he is not sufficiently himself. The remarks in Professor Howison's Introductory Note (xiv. *sq.*) are full of interest in this connection.

On the other hand, good points abound. The prefatory account of Idealism (xxvi. *sq.*) is admirable. The exposition of the Greek Ideal (chap. ii.) could not well be better within similar compass; it once more suggests the immense superiority of the Idealistic interpretation—*e.g.*, in Mr Edward Caird and Hegel himself—in connection with the civilisation for which it has most affinity, over an estimate of the Jews, which makes them "foolishness." The criticisms of Mr A. J. Balfour and of Mr F. H. Bradley (122 *sq.* and 138 *sq.*) seem to me to be conclusive, and they are as timely as masterly. The treatment of recent mathematical speculations (161 *sq.*) is most instructive, and the contention for Teleology in the light of Darwinism (182 *sq.*) raises some ultimate problems with eminent skill. The book is so clearly written that no one can have difficulty in mastering it. And as it everywhere discusses questions of living and vital importance, its perusal is to be

strongly recommended. The larger work along similar lines which Professor Watson half promises will be eagerly awaited by all who desire to learn the processes whereby the conclusions presented in this little volume have been reached.

R. M. WENLEY.

### Human Activity. Philosophical Ethics.

*Das menschliche Handeln. Philosophische Ethik von A. Dorner, D.D., Professor an der Universität Königsberg. Berlin: Mitscher u. Röstel, 1895. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 737. Price, M.12.*

THE present work, as the author tells us in his preface, forms a sort of parallel to one published in 1887, entitled "Human Knowing" (*Das menschliche Erkennen*). The earlier work supplies the general psychological and metaphysical presuppositions of the present one; indeed, a considerable part of the treatise now to be noticed is little more than an expansion, with modifications, of a section of that on "Human Knowing." As it will clearly be impossible, in the space at my disposal, to give detailed account of Dr Dorner's ethical system as a whole, much more to discuss his views of the various psychological and metaphysical, theoretical and practical, moral and religious, problems on which he touches in his massive work, I must restrict myself in the main to a brief sketch of prominent features, and one or two critical remarks thereon.

First, however, it will be well to summarise the Table of Contents.

In an introductory chapter a preliminary account is given of the conception, the task, and the scope of Philosophical Ethics. The discussion proper is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with the presuppositions of Ethics; the second with the System of Ethics, in other words, with the system of human action. Under the head of Presuppositions are included: I. Phenomenology of the moral consciousness, which again falls into two sections—the *first*, or psychological one, occupied with the Ethical Intelligence and Ethical Feeling and Will; the *second*, with the chief stages of the genesis of the moral life in the consciousness of humanity, or the various ethical Ideals, which constitute three great stages, described respectively as the Eudaemonistic Ideal, the abstract Ethics of the unconditioned Ought or Formal Ethics, and the Union of absolute Ethics with the doctrine of the Good and Eudaemony: II. Metaphysical presuppositions of Ethics: III. Religious presupposition of Ethics.



The Second or Systematic part is divided into two sections—the first sketching the general features of systematic Ethics; and the second, treating agreeably to custom, of Special Ethics, *i.e.*, of Duties, Virtue and Good.

I venture to think that Dr Dorner's exposition of his system would have gained in clearness if he had proceeded constructively. He seems, on the contrary, rather to have set it forth as it grew in his own mind. The habit of introducing important momenta and considerations either incidentally or in the course of criticisms of other writers is also rather confusing, besides occasioning not a few repetitions, which might otherwise have been avoided. In part, perhaps, he has but fallen in with a method not uncommon in Germany. Its writers on philosophical, and especially theological subjects, are accustomed to allow themselves to wind in and out of subjects, letting the course which they take be largely determined by the authors with whom they reckon, even at the risk of appearing to advance rather spirally than in a straight line. Foreigners, therefore, are perhaps scarcely justified in making it a matter of critical remark. Still, as some of our own younger thinkers seem, in this, as in other respects, to be treading in the steps of their German teachers, it may not be quite out of place to note the peculiarity.

It will conduce to a readier appreciation of Dr Dorner's position if I proceed constructively and begin with a reference to the cosmological basis of his system as set forth in the section entitled "Metaphysical presuppositions of Ethics."

That he should go back to a cosmology is quite in order. Ethical systems, as a matter of fact, always are conditioned by a view of the constitution of the world as a whole, if not consciously yet unconsciously,—too frequently the latter.

But to proceed. The author posits, or I might say postulates, a world, the constituent factors of which are at first in a state of disorder or "disharmony"; which state is to be converted into one of harmony. What is true of the world-system in its entirety, is true also of the co-ordinate or subordinate systems, down even to the great human system and the individuals by which it is constituted. They are all characterised by disharmony, and are all meant to be harmonised.

This initial disharmony is designed to be converted into harmony by the agency of the "World-substances" or "World-potences" themselves, which are the subjects of the disorder, either in themselves or in their relations to each other.

All the "World-potences" or "World-substances" are both "real atoms" and "rational"; but whilst, in some, rationality shows itself solely in the fact that within universal law the direction of their

particular movements can be modified by atoms which are able to act for ends, *i.e.*, which conform to a teleology external to themselves; in others, "rationality rises to self-consciousness, to the capability of an inner activity of thought and volition, which is able to influence the more mechanical activity of their fellow-atoms" (p. 247). These latter are designated "finite, earthly spirits," also "human monads" (p. 245). Being "*real atoms*" as well as "reason," they can act not only on and in themselves, but on the real atoms which are controlled by the mechanical order of the world, and thus also modify that order.

The "monads" naturally share the disharmony of the world to which they belong; but on them is devolved the function of establishing order, not only in themselves, but also in the world. As the author says: "The more rational they become, the more will everything be embraced by this harmony. First, the lesser totalities, then the larger ones, till at last the whole of humanity, *in conjunction with its earthly natural environment*, will be reduced to order and harmony" (p. 252).

This is a bold speculation; one, too, which, as I venture to think, logically involves conclusions fatal to positions on which the writer elsewhere lays great stress. The essence of the speculation, however, rare as it is, deserves serious attention, though it might be presented in a more congruous and self-commending form.

Regarded from this point of view, the history of the world as a whole may be spoken of as a moral process, though in the stricter sense the history of humanity alone merits that designation.

But what is the guarantee of the realisation of the harmony for which the world-system is destined? If the world and its highest factors are initially in a state of discord, what ground can there be for expecting or reckoning confidently on a change? Dualism seems rather suggested—essential and eternal dualism. Nay, more, unless the possibility is guaranteed, moral activity, remarks the author, will be impossible.

The guarantee in question is supplied by the fact that both nature and spirit have one source, namely, an absolute being, who is himself moral and therefore personal; who has so constituted spirit and nature that they shall act and react on each other; and whose design and purpose is, that the moral law shall eventually prevail, and thus harmony reign in the world (p. 148).

This purpose is expressed in the very constitution of the factors of the world, notwithstanding the disharmony of their initial state. We see it in the orderliness of nature, which is a prophecy of higher harmony. We see it in the impulse towards—and, as it may be termed, the "essential will" for—unity and harmony which characterises the "human monad" in its rational aspect. We see it

further in the fact that an ideal is interwoven with the reason, which, as it gradually dawns on man, requires and impels him to put forth efforts for its realisation—the realisation which is the very harmony unto which he and the world have been created.

Approaching the question from the world-side, these latter form the guarantee—in the view of some ethical writers the *sole* guarantee, if there be any at all. They are the advocates, implicit or explicit, of what is termed *morale independante*. In the earlier parts of Dr Dorner's work many statements occur from which one might not unfairly conclude that his aim was to establish the ethical autonomy of man and the world. But in the section from which I have just been quoting this impression is, in a sense, corrected.

Approaching the question from the side of the origin of the world, the guarantee, as stated, is the Absolute Being.

The recognition of this guarantee—twofold in form, one in reality—safeguards us both against the dualism which seems suggested by the initial state of the world, especially if it be conceived as necessary; and against its anti-ethical influence.

The moral harmony for which the world is destined—if it is to deserve the name—must be produced by the subjects thereof; and if they themselves are to produce it, they must, although actually in disharmony, yet be essentially fitted for and capable of producing it. This point of view, which the author terms the teleological one, is regarded by him as a sufficient rebutment of the objection that his theory is dualistic.

In the human monads, the general disharmony of the world takes the form of a struggle, first, amongst the various impulses, feelings and sensibilities which constitute what may be termed their lower nature; and secondly, between this lower nature and the reason. When the Ego awakes to self-consciousness, it finds itself face to face with conflict, which it has to pacify, and with a "chaos" out of which it has to bring an order and harmony that shall be the realisation of its own pre-ordained, yea, also self-prescribed ideal.

The process by which, according to Dr Dorner, this is effected may be briefly described as follows.

It is the outcome of the co-operation of two factors—one, the practical reason or ethical intelligence; the other, "the will."

The first thing necessary is that the Ego should, as it were, rise out of its actual, given condition to a consciousness of the harmony or ideal it has to realise. The establishment thereof in the world below man, so far as it does not depend on him, is effected naturally, automatically, unconsciously; in him it is to be effected consciously. He has first to know what he has to do. The ideal immanent in man's reason, to which reference was made, reveals itself to him

—that is, to his “Ethical intelligence”—by some such steps as the following:—First, individual acts are seen to be obligatory or forbidden, either before or after performance, or whilst being performed; next, groups of actions are formed, of which certain moral characteristics are predicated; then the idea of duty or right, or of moral obligation, is grasped by itself, apart from particular concrete cases; and finally, it is seen that duty or right embraces every mode of human activity, and that human activities constitute a great whole,—a *living*, not a mechanical whole. Every glimpse thus gained of moral obligation is a glimpse of the *ideal*; every enlargement of the groups of duties which are recognised brings the Ego nearer to the vision of the ideal; but the actual envisagement of the ideal, *as the ideal*, is marked by the dawn of the conception of “totality,” for the “ideal claims to compass the entire life; that a place be found in it, and that it provide a place, for every human activity; and that there shall be no activity which conflicts with another, but that all shall contribute to the harmony, fulness, and good of the whole.” This insight is, of course, only gradually gained, and it is the great function of Ethics to hasten its progress to completeness by sketching the outline of the ideal in its unity, harmony, and concrete totality. In the accomplishment of this task the ethical intelligence avails itself of the assistance of the categories,—as the author explains in the work on “*Das menschliche Erkennen*,” to which reference was previously made.

But another factor besides the ethical intelligence has to co-operate in the process under consideration, namely, “the will.” The nature of the will and the function it discharges are more particularly set forth in the section entitled “*Der sittliche Wille*.”

The harmony to be brought about does not, as asceticism supposes, signify that the impulses and feelings are to be suppressed; nor even that they are to be played off against each other; but their subordination to ethical ends. This is involved in the fundamental assumption that it is the goal of the world; though it is also indicated by the fact that impulses or feelings which grow into passions tend to suppress each other, that is, to the production of a certain kind of unity.

The co-operation of the will in the establishment of harmony is evoked, or, if not exactly evoked, begins with the awakening of what the author calls the *Ich-Gefühl*, the general nature of which will be seen from the following account of the rôle which it plays. “The moment the Ego becomes conscious of its practical intelligence it is stirred by a sense of the value thereof. This feeling is one of pleasure. At the same time the disharmony between its lower nature and the moral law, of which it is also conscious, gives

rise to discontent, and this in turn calls forth efforts for the removal of the cause, that is, positively stated, for the establishment of harmony. These efforts are further stimulated by the satisfaction that results from the ensuing harmony" (p. 92). The dissatisfaction in question may not at first be purely moral; but it becomes more and more so with the growth of the ethical intelligence.

Before further describing how, according to Dr Dörner, harmony is established between the *Triebleben* or lower nature, and the *Vernunft* with its claims or ideal, I must briefly refer to the position he himself takes up relatively to the "will." His general use of the term and references to the self-activity of the Ego, throughout a great part of his work, are of the kind that is characteristic of advocates of its freedom; not such as are consistent with determinism. Yet he avows himself a determinist, and subjects the conception of free-will or freedom of choice to what is meant to be a trenchant criticism. The conception, however, of free-will or freedom of choice which he criticises is surely one that is rarely entertained, at all events by modern intelligent writers. The following are some of his representations. "It is a new force;" "man is in such a state of equilibrium that he is able to decide either for the moral intelligence on the one side or the *Triebleben* on the other, in a purely and absolutely capricious way; and such choice alone is free;" "the ego, as will, can *make itself* (!) completely independent of the two sides of itself, and then decide capriciously;" "freedom of choice implies an Ego which hovers in a sovereign way over all its own interests, between which and the ethical or moral there is no affinity, the two being foreign to each other;" "though the possession of freedom is ordinarily assumed for the purpose of accounting for the existence of evil, inasmuch as caprice, *quid* caprice, has the right to decide as it chooses, a purely capricious decision for evil would not be evil"; "to blame the Ego for deciding capriciously would be to lay on it the obligation of submitting to a command that is altogether external and foreign to its nature—an obedience which at the best would be purely legal, not ethical." He further objects, that if freedom of choice, of course, as just defined, was possessed and exercised at the beginning, it must continue to be possessed to the end, because it is inconceivable that such a power should be done away with by exercise, as is frequently implied, if not explicitly maintained. The conclusion is naturally at last reached that freedom of choice is untenable;—a conclusion obviously inevitable from such premises.

As the author himself, however, observes, this leaves us face to face with two questions which need answering—first, how the idea



of such freedom can have arisen? and second, how, without freedom, the process under consideration can be carried through?

The answer to the first question is in substance—that it is a *mistake* due to the fact that when the Ego becomes aware on the one hand, of the disorder which it harbours within itself; and on the other, of the demand for order issuing from its own reason; and finds by experience that, at one time, impulse gains the victory, at another, law or duty;—it seems to itself, looking at itself, as it is apt to do, in the abstract to be in the presence of possibilities between which it is both able and bound to choose. In reality, the wavering between obedience to duty and bondage to impulse is the result of the varying strength of one or the other motive or inducement. So that the whole question is simply one of “*genügende Motivation*”—adequate Motivation—and there is no need whatever of the assumption of free will in the sense of freedom of choice (p. 109).

The real condition of moral progress is, therefore, advance in moral intelligence—in other words, the attainment of fuller insight into the nature of the task to be accomplished by the Ego; though concomitantly the power to realise what the reason prescribes to the Ego also increases. This is all the more the case as every failure to conform to the ideal which is revealing itself gives rise to a stronger and more painful sense of discrepancy and discord.

When at last the point is reached at which the moral law is grasped in its distinctness, purity, necessity and unconditional validity, the Ego, for the sake of maintaining its own unity, once and for ever, consciously allies itself therewith, and thus becomes of set purpose, though at first only in principle, what from the first it was in itself essentially—to wit, a good Ground-will (*Grundwille*), a bottomly good will.

To the objection that this is to represent the Ego as dragging itself out of the slough by its own queue, he replies, “the Ego must be regarded from the teleological point of view,” which he explains as follows:—“In point of fact, the Ego is originally and essentially a unity, with the mission of reducing to order a manifold of impulses, feelings, sensibilities. It is involved in its moral nature—to wit, in the fact that it may not remain what it primarily is, but is under obligation to constitute itself by its own act that which it is designed to be, that it should not be able to realise itself as rational and teleological, till the moral intelligence is fully awake. “The act by which man wills to be one with the ideal of his reason, though the full concrete realisation of what he wills may be long delayed, is the *creative moment* which distinguishes the human spirit from nature.” He then begins to discharge the primal and most essential duty of his nature as rational—namely,

that of organising the self as given (*gegeben*), into the self which is pre-figured in the immanent ideal of his practical reason.

Dr Dorner's effort to secure a moral process by means of a will that is not free is marked by a subtlety and vigour which I have scarcely even indicated; yet it is not a success. In point of fact, too, he unwittingly at the last smuggles in the very freedom with which he had sought to dispense.

"Naturam expellas furca  
Tamen usque recurret."

The whole of his elaborate argument is nullified by the phrase just quoted, namely "*erschöpferisches Moment*,"—a creative moment. For a creative act or element or factor, or however else the difficult German term "*Moment*" may be rendered—what is that but the very free act of choice at which he boggles as inexplicable and untenable? A "creative Moment" in a process, which depends solely on "adequate motivation," that is, on the relative strength of certain impulses, found by man in himself when the practical reason awakes; which he is not to suppress; between which he cannot choose; and for the control of which he cannot appeal to any power outside himself, is surely very like that refuge of logicians at their wits' end, namely, the "*Deus ex machina*."

As to the metaphysical pre-suppositions of ethics postulated by Dr Dorner, one of them is the absolute being who is the ultimate guarantee of the realisation of the world-ideal. The others are: the real existence of an Ego and Egos; next the real existence of the external world, without which human activity would lack its proper and chief object and sphere; and finally the possibility of the union of spirit and nature.

With regard to the *religious* pre-supposition of ethics, whilst allowing that the ideal of religion and that of morality are in essential harmony; that religion, therefore, in its true form furthers rather than hinders morality, in so far as it helps to maintain the unconditioned character of the ethical and to strengthen faith in the final supremacy of the good;—he denies to religion the determining influence which has generally been claimed for it by Christian theologians. He is also far enough from recognising the empirical churches and faiths as high ethical authorities and influences. Indeed, the tone of his allusions to organised Christianity suggests that he looks rather to ethical teaching than to the Christian Gospel for the progress of humanity towards virtue and good.

As already noted, the second and larger half of the work is devoted to the exhibition of ethics as a system, that is of the system of human activities, with the special purpose of showing that they

constitute a totality, a unity, in which ideally considered not one can fail. In other words, it aims at describing, first in general outline, and then in particular, the moral ideal of human activity.

The three parts into which, following traditional usage, he divides his subject, namely, Duties, Virtue, Good, are distinguished as follows. The doctrine of duty sets forth how men are to act; that of virtue the ideal moral personality or perfected humanity; and that of good the products of the activity of virtuous persons.

It is, of course, difficult to keep these three subjects apart; for in a sense each involves the other. Dr Dorner, however, has been as successful in doing so as one could expect.

The work thus very imperfectly introduced to the readers of the *Critical Review* contains ample proof of the wide reading, the protracted and earnest thought, the fair and judicial tone of mind, and the practical insight of the author. Much may be learnt from it by ethical thinkers of every school; and, in particular, ethical teachers, whether clerical or not, would do well to study the latter part of the work. Apart from the terminology, which strikes me as somewhat lacking in clearness, owing perhaps to the effort to avoid monotony, the style is vigorous and lucid.

But for all this, I cannot regard the work as a success. To some of the weaker points attention has already been called. Its determinism is a serious blot. A still more serious defect, from the point of view of Christian theology, is, that although a short *Excursus* is devoted to "Das Böse;" there is no real recognition of sin, and therefore none of the need or fact of salvation. Indeed, both are excluded by the logic of the system.

The author's criticisms of writers who look for the realisation of the world's harmony and ideal to the gradual action of the resident forces and laws of the system of *nature* are acute and sound. But notwithstanding the teleology which he imports into the very constitution both of the world and man, and his preservation of terms like "ethical process," "will," and others, which imply that man is responsible for co-operation towards the great end, he does not transcend the naturalistic position—indeed, his determinism prevents his doing so. Of every other living thing may be affirmed all that he affirms of man, save consciousness: and consciousness alone, *i.e.*, the capability of seeing the disorder that has to be overcome, and the law or ideal, according to which the forces have to be ordered, does not warrant us in applying to human activity for the production of harmony such time-honoured descriptions as "ethical," "obedience to duty," "virtuous," and so forth. Being thus constituted, however, he is necessarily a prey to the most melancholy and persistent of all delusions—the delusion that he is responsible for effort which he cannot put forth; blamable for failures

which he cannot avoid; and praiseworthy for progress which is as independent of him as the precession of the equinoxes.

Further criticism of the system as a whole, especially of the first part, could only be of value in the light of a different and more satisfactory system: and for the exposition of such a system this is not the place.

I venture, in concluding, to express the hope that the author, who bears a name so well beloved and highly honoured, may yet produce an ethical treatise that shall do justice to the claims both of a sound philosophy, of the "faith once delivered to the saints," and of the essential mind of the Catholic Church. Such an Ethic is needed: such an Ethic is possible.

D. W. SIMON.

### **Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung.**

*Von Hugo Willrich, Ph.D. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1896; Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 176. Price, M.3.*

### **Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift Vom beschaulichen Leben.**

*Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Judenthums. Von Paul Wendland. Leipzig: Teubner, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.2.80.*

### **Entwicklungsgeschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten und Neuen Bunde, an der Hand einer Analyse der Quellen.**

*Von H. J. Bestmann, Pastor in Wölln. I. Das Alte Testament. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 421. Price, M.6.*

### **Der Missionsgedanke im Alten Testament.**

*Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte. Von Max Löhr, Professor in Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896; Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 40. Price, M.0.80.*

### **The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis.**

*A Critical Enquiry into the Value of the Text exhibited by Yemen MSS. compared with that of the European recension. By Henry Barnstein, Ph.D. London: Nutt, 1896. 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 3s. 6d. net.*

### **Hebrew Grammar for Arabic-speaking Jews.**

*By Abraham Kestin. Alexandria (Egypt), 1896. 8vo, pp. 140.*

IN the preface to his *History of Israel*, Julius Wellhausen urged classical philologists to enter the field which, till then, had been wrought only by trained theologians and Orientalists, and to cultivate it with greater zeal and earnestness than had yet been displayed. Dr Willrich's work primarily appears in response to that appeal. But there were other inducements to undertake the task. Mommsen's masterly sketch of Judea and the Jews, in the fifth volume of his *History of Rome*, further awakened the desire of ascertaining, from a study of the original sources, the relation sustained by the Greeks and Romans to the Jews. Schürer's learned and invaluable *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* naturally formed a guide and a model of scientific method; but increasing acquaintance with the historical authorities themselves made it more and more evident that the master, after all, was not at home in the period extending from the time of Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes, and that his conception and treatment of that section in the history were accordingly at many points defective and inaccurate. It was thus with great regret that our author, while acknowledging the deepest indebtedness to Schürer, yet felt compelled to differ from him on many points.

The work is essentially a critical examination of the authorities for the history of the Greek period in the national life of the Jews, viz., from 333 to 167 B.C. In the execution of the task, statements of writers hitherto regarded as trustworthy are often shown to be really unreliable. It is pretty well known, indeed, that Josephus frequently contradicts even himself, and passes over inconvenient facts in order to glorify his nation. But the same desire and design are observable in other Jewish writers also; one who desires to ascertain the real facts regarding the fortunes of Israel in those dark days of misfortune and oppression must thus frequently tear off the gilded covering. The truth has often to be sought elsewhere.

The investigation commences with a sifting of the legendary story regarding Alexander's march to Jerusalem and his sudden change of purpose towards its inhabitants and the Jewish nation generally. In citing and estimating the worth of the statements by various writers, penetration is combined with sound judgment and remarkable fairness, so that the reader feels strongly inclined to give simple assent to most of the conclusions drawn. Though the residuum of probable truth sometimes seems disappointingly small, one can hardly say that the author goes too far. On the other hand, when he modestly compares his labours to those of a humble worker who but hews and brings a few stones which some master-builder will afterwards use in the construction of a stately edifice,



we shall do well to differ from his judgment here, and thank him heartily for what he has performed with master-hand.

Dr Wendland's brief treatise forms an important contribution towards the settlement of a long controversy. The work entitled *About the Contemplative Life*, attributed to Philo, and generally printed in collections of his works, though sometimes declared spurious by certain editors, gives some account of a sect or community called the Therapeutae, who were specially remarkable for their strict and even ascetic mode of life, and who spent their time in pious contemplation. From the days of Eusebius, and mostly through his instrumentality, the work has been prominently before the Christian Church; and from those early centuries till the time of the Reformation it was regarded as giving a view of primitive Christianity. Christian monasticism obviously derived great strength and support from this interesting description of an earlier mode of life which was even regarded as a type and pattern. But when mediaeval darkness began to disappear before the dawn of the Reformation, and when awakened Europe, with enlightened eyes, perceived gross abuses and perversions even in the Church of Christ, the foul corruptions of monasticism made earnest men enquire into the origin and warrant of a system which produced such evil fruits. Then began a controversy, continued till the close of last century, between Papists on the one hand, who defended the genuineness of this treatise *About the Contemplative Life* and its credibility as a truthful picture of early Christian days, and Protestants on the other side, who denounced the work as a spurious production of later Christian times—a pious forgery.

Controversy has been recently revived, but in another form and around another point; for the question now most keenly discussed is, Who were the Therapeutae? It is much more easy, however, to ask this question than to settle it, inasmuch as the language employed in the treatise is confessedly vague. Grätz, Jost, and particularly Lucius (in a treatise published in 1879, entitled *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese*), followed by Harnack, Schürer, and others, hold that the Therapeutae were Christians, but not early Christians, and that the work was thus not Philo's, but the forgery of a writer in the fourth century of our era. Others, with better show of reason, defend the Philonic authorship of the treatise, but contend that the Therapeutae were Jewish ascetics, whose origin and precise tenets are exceedingly difficult to determine. The leading champion on this side is Mr F. C. Conybeare, whose masterly work, entitled *Philo, About the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, 1895), forming a noble monument of

English scholarship, contains a critically edited Greek text, with Latin and Armenian versions, and a thorough examination of the linguistic peculiarities which establish the Philonic authorship.

This treatise by Dr Wendland forms a further defence of substantially the same position as that occupied by the English scholar. The German critic, however, takes a somewhat different view regarding the genesis of the present text and its relations to the manuscripts and versions; important additions are likewise made to the confirmatory citations adduced by Mr Conybeare from the early Fathers; the language and style of the treatise are discussed anew with great penetration and thoroughness; and still more searching inquiry is made into the origin of the Therapeutae, as well as the record regarding them. This little work, in short, forms an indispensable supplement to the standard production of Mr Conybeare.

Pastor Bestmann has firm convictions, and is strongly opposed to the advanced school of Old Testament critics, against whom this volume is directed. He is decidedly—one might even say extremely—conservative. The fundamental error of modern criticism, he contends, is its excessively “literary” character, by which he means its inordinate disposition to treat many portions of the Scripture merely as literary productions without duly considering their historical setting and their true meaning.

In this first volume, which treats of the Old Testament alone, he displays much ingenuity and freshness in exhibiting what he regards as the true method of reading the Hebrew Scriptures. Taking, first, the Book of Psalms, he seeks to prove, from a very thorough analysis of the whole, that this collection was intended to present the religious ideal of life. Taking, next, the Wisdom literature, he similarly enforces his view that this division was intended to set forth the practical ideal of life in ancient Israel. The writings of the prophets, forming a third division, he explains as exhibiting the ideal of the nation as a community in covenant relation with God; this feature, though specially prominent in the writings of the earliest prophets, Amos and Hosea, comes out again and again in the utterances of their successors. The fourth of the leading ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures is that of a united Israel living under the law; this conception obviously presents itself in the Pentateuch, but particularly in the Book of Deuteronomy. The last division sets forth the mission of regenerated Israel as a people under the guidance of prophecy and the law combined.

The work is stimulating and suggestive, but is somewhat marred by the polemical spirit pervading the whole.

Understanding the missionary idea in the Old Testament as involved in the thought that the whole earth shall one day come to see the glory of the Lord, and all nations worship Him, Professor Löhr very clearly and forcibly points out that this conception could not but remain strange to Israel during its early history. For, first of all, it had religious and moral problems of its own to solve; time was required to settle in the territory it had conquered, and then to regard this as the land of the Lord; furthermore, the chosen nation had to strengthen itself against the friendly as well as the hostile influences of the Canaanites, and to realise that they were the people of Jehovah. This early training of Israel was anything but calculated to evoke and foster a missionary spirit; it rather produced and intensified the feeling of religious exclusiveness, so that the Hebrew people could truly be described in the words of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 39) as one that "dwelt alone, and was not reckoned among the nations."

Gradually, however, after these early ideas had become rooted in the national mind, other truths had to be learned, especially through contact with foreign peoples. How the missionary idea was implanted and gradually developed in later times is admirably shown in this brief but valuable treatise, which we heartily commend to the notice of our readers.

Dr Barnstein has laid all true students of the Targums under deep obligations by the preparation and publication of his admirable treatise, which, rather modestly, he calls a mere "enquiry." His work, however, is much more than a preliminary investigation; it is not merely an earnest appeal for a critical edition of the best Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, but an admirable preparation for the execution of the task. Berliner's edition of the Onkelos Targum, published in 1884, is the most valuable as well as the most available; but its sources are all European, and, in spite of most praiseworthy endeavours to present a correct text, the work is very faulty. A number of most important Targum manuscripts have latterly been brought to Europe from South Arabia, where flourishing Jewish communities long maintained their ground. The attention of scholars has indeed been already called to the peculiar vowel-system applied to the text in these manuscripts; this vocalisation is superlinear, as distinguished from the sublinear, with which we are familiar in pointed Hebrew texts; but the whole system is much simpler, and more suited to the genius of the Aramaic language than the sublinear.

Interesting as this subject is to Semitic philologists, the Yemen MSS. are far more important to exegetes, whether Jewish or Christian, inasmuch as they present a Targum text more strictly literal in its renderings, and thus far more helpful in the elucidation of the Hebrew original, than that which has long been current in the West, and which is haggadic in its character. Not without good reason, therefore, does Dr Barnstein urge that the interesting and valuable recension presented in these Yemen manuscripts should be made available for Biblical students.

A clear and succinct account of Onkelos and his work is followed by a critical investigation of the Targums; this is succeeded by a scholarly examination of the linguistic peculiarities of these manuscripts; the whole is closed by specimen chapters, accompanied by footnotes showing various readings. The typography is most tasteful, and may even be called elegant.

The feeling of disappointment raised by the first glance at Kestin's book disappears after closer examination has been made. In style of printing, and even in skill of arrangement, it is far behind the excellent specimens of typographic art to which we are now so happily accustomed in Western Europe. But to one who takes any interest in the elevation and advancement of the Orientals, this little work becomes a cheering indication of progress; its style of execution shows immense improvement on what was commonly produced in Egypt not many years ago. The basis of the work is really the Arabic language, but this is expressed—with some difficulty—in Hebrew characters, for the use of Jews in Egypt accustomed to this mode of literary intercommunication. It presents a carefully graduated course of instruction for leading Arabic-speaking Jews to a knowledge of their ancestral language, and is well fitted to attain this end.

JAMES KENNEDY.

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**Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-aramäischen  
Sprache.**

*Von D. Karl Marti. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Pars XVIII.).  
Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. London and Edinburgh:  
Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 134 and 90. Price,  
M.3.60.*

THIS book will be welcomed by all students of the Old Testament who can appreciate sound treatment of grammar and vocabulary. Like the best of its predecessors in the series, it combines thoroughness with compactness and clear arrangement. The grammar,  
Vol. VII.—No. 2.

which occupies 130 pages, provides a summary and exposition of all the phenomena appearing in the literary remains of Biblical Aramaic (the passages Dan. ii. 4—vii. 28, Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18, and vii. 12-26; the two words in Gen. xxxi. 47, and the verse Jer. x. 11). This is followed by a list of books bearing on the subject, and by paradigms, in which the author has followed Kautzsch (as against Delitzsch) in citing only forms that actually occur. Next he has given the text of the Biblical passages, adopting Baer's results with regard to the actual Masoretic tradition, but introducing a series of carefully considered emendations, partly due to Kautzsch and Bevan, his predecessors in this field. The book concludes with a glossary, which contains a most important contribution of *new* matter to the explanation of the Biblical passages—viz., a full account and treatment of the Persian words in Daniel, which has been supplied to the author by the competent hand of Dr C. F. Andreas of Berlin; there are also contributions from Professors Bevan and Zimmern. This glossary may without doubt be said to constitute the greatest advance in the study of this dialect since the appearance of Professor Bevan's *Daniel* in 1892.

If a word of criticism may be allowed, it is that the author has carried rather far his avoidance of the "unnecessary" (Preface, p. vi.) element of comparative grammar. In a dialect of which the literary remains are so few, isolated forms are met with which ought not to be explained without reference to parallels in other dialects. To take one instance which Nöldeke has already noticed, the rejection of the pronominal forms כִּם and הִם as Hebraisms (p. 27) is refuted by the fact that similar forms ending in *m* occur in the Nabatean inscriptions (Bevan, p. x.). The evidence of the same inscriptions, (*e.g.* the spelling שִׁנִּי, Bevan, p. 215) destroys the author's theory that ש as opposed to ס is not a genuine Aramaic letter. Then again, in attempting to explain the hardening of the ה in the Hithpeel of verbs וִי (p. 61), account should have been taken of the fact that in Syriac the forms Ethpeel and Ethtaphal from וִי verbs are the same. And surely the exposition of the syntax would have gained from a comparison and contrast with Syriac as regards (for instance) the use of the absolute and emphatic states and the treatment of the tenses. Only thus could the peculiarities of the dialect have been fully brought out.

But these minor defects detract very little from the merit of the book as a "complete grammar" of Biblical Aramaic. And I must conclude by once more calling attention to the glossary with its fresh explanation of Persian words as making the book indispensable to students of Daniel and Ezra.

NORMAN M'LEAN.



**Philosophy of Theism.**

*Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1895-96. Second Series. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

IN the number of this *Review* for April 1896, we had the pleasure and the privilege of welcoming the first series of Professor Fraser's Gifford Lectures, and we then ventured to anticipate that, when completed by a second series of lectures on the lines indicated by the venerable author, this work would take rank among the most useful books upon its important subject. The promised volume is now before us, and certainly does not yield either in interest or ability to its predecessor. If in some parts these lectures strike us as somewhat more discursive, somewhat less pointed than the last, there is the same grasp of fundamental principles which shows that the writer's utterances are the fruit of long meditation, the same fair and courteous treatment of those who differ from him, the same temperate yet earnest tone as of one who feels that he has a message for his generation, the same power of imparting freshness to oft-repeated truths by suggestive and illustrative detail and felicitous collocation. In his preface Professor Fraser explains that the lectures are not the outcome of a special course of reading and investigation undertaken with a Gifford Lectureship in view, but "an honest exposition of results already reached in a life devoted to kindred pursuits." In this, as we formerly indicated, lies the special value of his treatment of the subject, and that which makes it specially suitable for thoughtful readers who, having received no systematic training in philosophy, would be repelled by a purely abstract discussion, or a parade of learning, chiefly evidenced by abundance of foot-notes, and who yet want something more than a mere popular statement, and do *not* want mere special pleading. For a well informed, carefully weighed statement of the subject,—which does not ignore its difficulties, which is content to rest upon probability when probability is the nearest approach to certainty, and which yet in its strong appeal to common sense, in its preference for the rational over the irrational, the moral over the immoral or the non-moral, presents a strong case in favour of Theism,—such readers can be confidently recommended to the discussion here contained.

It may be convenient to recall briefly the course of the argument in the previous volume. The Final Problem of the Universe, the most important which can engage the attention of thinking men, is

there defined as consisting in the determination of the mutual relation of three existences brought to light in the common consciousness of mankind. These are Matter, the Self or Ego, and God. Attempts have been made to explain the universe from the point of view of each of these in turn, giving rise to theories of Panmaterialism, Panegoism and Pantheism. An examination of these theories having revealed the impossibility of rationally resting in them, there are only two courses open to us. We must reject all, or accept all; the problem must be dismissed as insoluble, or a synthesis of all the elements found to be involved in it must be attempted. The position of universal nescience being found on investigation to be untenable, the last three lectures of the first series are devoted to an exhibition of the way in which the "three existences" imply each other, and can only be explained through each other; while to each is conceded a relative independence, they combine to form a higher unity, by the stability and integrity of which reason and morality alike are rendered possible.

It is important to bear in mind,—whether in surveying the old, or entering upon the new, discussion,—the limitations under which Professor Fraser himself conceives the task set before him. Demonstration, he knows, is in such a matter out of the question; a high degree of probability, of moral certainty, is all that can be aimed at. The alternative which he presents is—the theistic solution or no rational solution at all. Alike in marshalling his own evidence, and in meeting the objections raised by others, he occupies this eminently moderate and cautious attitude; nor will the force of the argument be in any way lessened by it in the view of the earnest and candid enquirer. To show "the final trustworthiness and intelligibility of the universe in which we are living," seems a task which should not be beyond human powers, and the abandonment of which as insoluble, not less than the return of a negative answer to the question it puts, seems equivalent to reason proclaiming itself irrational—or intellectual suicide. Consequently, our author's method is to *assume* Theism, on the one hand, or any other suggested solution of the great problem, upon the other, as a hypothesis to be applied to the facts with the aim of determining, not which theory affords an absolute explanation of them, but which explains them best. This method of *trial*, with resulting acceptance or rejection, is employed throughout the volume before us.

The ten lectures which compose this second series are divided into two sets of five each, the first set being occupied with a positive elaboration of the Theistic argument, and the second dealing with specific difficulties, which must be faced before any theory on this subject can obtain even provisional acceptance. The first lectures are, in fact, a consideration, from the author's point of view, of the

ordinary Theistic arguments. The order of these, as is well known, varies in the hands of different writers,—some preferring to begin with the Ontological argument, some with the Cosmological. Professor Fraser gives the place of honour to the Moral Argument—the opening lecture is entitled, “The Moral Foundation of Theism.” Human experience is best interpreted by the conception of Personality, and the relation of man to God as that of Person to Person—“the moral personification of the physically infinite universe translates its scientifically insoluble problem into one that is morally and practically soluble” (p. 12). The idea thus suggested expresses the truth of much in the speculations of Kant and Descartes, while the combination “of inevitable ultimate ignorance with partial knowledge” has in it something akin to the attitude of Mr Herbert Spencer, whose views are criticised at some length, with the result of showing that he just stops short of drawing the religious inference, of passing from physical to moral faith, the ignorance of which he is sensible undermining, in his estimation, the reality of the knowledge which he possesses. The second lecture deals with the Principle of Causality, the foundation of the Cosmological argument; the third, with Cosmical Adaptation and Divine Design, or the Teleological proof; and the fourth, with Divine Necessity, or the Ontological implication of the Theistic idea. In each of these there is some admirable discussion. In the second, for example, an attempt, not unsuccessful, is made to answer the question, why we cannot believe in an infinite regress of causes, which some writers simply meet with the assertion that no one ever has done so, or can do so; in the third, the author points out the real difficulty in the Design argument, which is not that means should be adapted to ends, but, why, in the hands of a Divine Designer, the means should not be dispensed with altogether. The third lecture also contains some acute criticism of Weismann’s argument that design is incompatible with the scientific comprehensibility of nature. Similarly, in the fourth lecture, an account is given of the Hegelian contribution to Theism, and the difficulties it does *not* solve; while an appreciative reference to Lotze supplies the starting-point for the discussion in the fifth lecture, which, under the title “Philosophical Faith,” lays stress on that element of *trust* in the moral meaning of the universe, which Professor Fraser continually insists is at once the postulate of all knowledge whatever, and the stepping-stone by which we cross the gulf which separates us from God. “Its justification is, that the universe of reality dissolves in sceptical and pessimist doubt when the moral faith is withdrawn.” “Philosophical faith is the truly rational trust that nothing can happen in the temporal evolution which can finally put to confusion the principles of moral reason that are latent in man,

scientifically incomprehensible as the world's history of mingled good and evil must be when measured only by finite experience in scientific intelligence. Philosophical faith is thus the reflex of theistic faith" (p. 141).

The five lectures forming the second subdivision of this series are, as already indicated, concerned with specific objections or difficulties arising out of the actual condition of the world, and in view of the proposed Theistic interpretation of it. They bear the titles respectively of "Evil: The Enigma of Theism;" "Optimism;" "Progress;" "Miracle: What is a Miracle?"; "The Mystery of Death: Destiny of Men." To the discussion contained in the first three of these we propose to devote the greater part of the space remaining to us.

The difficulty is thus formulated: "We find ourselves in a universe which, in this corner of it at least, presents a strange and unexpected mixture of what is bad with what is good. This is an obstacle to moral faith, and the religious interpretation of the world, which must be honestly met" (p. 143). The interpretation of the physical side of the world, involved in mystery as it is, presents no such difficulty as is found in the practical emergence in experience of that which *ought not* to be. "All so-called natural agency may not unreasonably be regarded as really divine agency;" Personality is a conception which, with proper qualifications, may be without self-contradiction applied to the Power manifested in Nature and in Man. Not here—not in the fact that *omnia exeunt in mysteria*—lies the obstacle to moral faith, but "in the suspected contents of this corner of the universe," in the apparently capricious infliction of pain which seems so inconsistent with the rule of an "ethically trustworthy and therefore loving Power,"—in the ignorance and error, above all in the moral corruption, which manifest themselves in the experience of men,—"A person's character is judged of by his actions; the actions of the Person that is operative in the experienced universe seem not to consist with perfection." It is vain to seek refuge in the thought that after all this world is itself so insignificant a member of the great stellar host, that even the experience of the human race as a whole, still more that of an individual man, is scarcely deserving of attention in comparison with the affairs of a universe; we feel that "one such issue must darken the infinite purity. And for man the issues on this planet are all in all. . . . One cannot infer a good artist from a bad picture, especially if he has only this one picture to go upon for his conclusion" (p. 159). How, then, can the mystery of physical, but, above all, of moral evil, "be reconciled with a final moral trust in the Power that is revealed in external and spiritual experience?" He who could furnish a complete and satisfactory answer to this question

would indeed deserve well of his fellows. The best and wisest of us can only hope to suggest considerations which mitigate somewhat the pressure of the mystery. Rejecting Manicheism or Dualism as "inconsistent with moral trust and hope in experience,"—finding that the traditional Christian teaching only removes the problem one step back without bringing it nearer to solution,—Professor Fraser asks whether Optimism rightly understood is not a legitimate expression of theistic faith and hope. The seventh lecture accordingly takes up this question. An optimist conception of the universe is held as implying "that its constitutive principles or system is absolutely the best" and is not inconsistent with an imperfect comprehension of the universe, so long as what is known is not of a nature absolutely to render moral trust and hope impossible, and thus to "arrest human life by a suicidal scepticism." But, it is now asked, does not the view that "a *necessitated* absence of evil must be in itself good, or alone good," involve an unproved assumption? (p. 174). For the universe, on such a condition, perfectly to correspond with the divine ideal, means that it must be a universe of *things*, not of *persons*, the latter as moral beings possessing the power of making themselves bad as well as good. The ideal universe may then be one where evil is possible, not where it is impossible, though even in the former case it may not pass into actuality. "A *necessitated* absence of sin and sorrow means the necessary non-existence of persons, and the existence of unconscious things only, or at most of things that might be called conscious automata, but not properly persons" (p. 176). This, the existence of persons, especially of those who use this power of self-determination to make evil their good, is, as the next lecture, that on "Progress," brings before us, the "chief enigma, and the evidence of the limitation at least of *our* final conception of the universe" (p. 198). It is through the thought and belief that this world is a training ground for moral beings, and that in it a real moral advance is discernible, that the existence of moral evil becomes reconcilable with faith in a supreme, wise and loving God. Evolution is teleological; physical and intellectual evils are made to help forward the progressive development.

On the subject of Miracles, Professor Fraser prefers to dwell on the fundamentally miraculous character of the whole physical order. He suggests that "a physical miracle may be an event in nature that finds its rational significance in its *moral* relations to the *persons* in the universe, rather than in its physical relation to the *things* in the universe." But, especially as part of a remedial system, miracles are conceivably admissible. And he closes the lecture devoted to this subject with the fine thought that modern scepticism in regard to miracles in the ordinary sense has really



led to a profounder apprehension not only of the universality of physical law, but of the miraculousness of the root of all law in nature.

The concluding lecture on "The Mystery of Death," while dealing with the most solemn of all problems, has little difficulty in showing that only on a Theistic basis can any hope of the future be consistently entertained or any theory of its conditions be constructed.

Thus far our author brings us, scattering upon the way which we traverse with him many fruits of wisdom, many examples of suggestive aphorism and incisive criticism. And so we take leave of him for the present, trusting that this is by no means the last book we shall receive from his practised pen, and that the faith which he has so well set forth may grow brighter and clearer to himself as the shadows lengthen with the years.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

### 1. Der Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekei in seiner religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung.

*Habilitationsvorlesung von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Privatdozenten an der Universität zu Basel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, M.0.80.*

### 2. The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

*Edited by Paul Haupt. Part 18, The Book of Daniel, by A. Kamphausen. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 4to, pp. 43. Price, M.3.*

### 3. Études sur Daniel et l'Apocalypse.

*Par C. Bruston, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Montauban. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 39.*

### 4. Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus.

*Textkritisch und biblisch-theologisch gewürdigt nebst einem Anhang über das Verhältniss des Apostels zu Philo, von Hans Vollmer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. viii. 103. Price, M.2.80.*

1. In this semi-popular lecture Bertholet seeks to estimate the significance of Ezekiel and his ideal constitution in the develop-

ment of religion. He finds that the prophet went into exile with two convictions: (1) That disobedience to God's statutes explained the misfortunes of the people (Ezek. i.-xxiv.), and (2) that it was possible to set up once more a purified and prosperous people whose walk should be in accordance with the Divine Law. In chaps. xxv.-xxxii. the destruction of Israel's heathen neighbours is predicted as the necessary preliminary to this, while in chaps. xl.-xlviii. Ezekiel draws up a programme for the restored community. He intended and expected this to be carried out. What although the physical configuration of the land and other trifles opposed the realising of his scheme? With God all things are possible. Everything, religion above all, is now reduced to a system that can be taught and learned. But if Ezekiel is the father of Judaism, if he anticipates the narrow maxim, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, he was the man for his time, as Bertholet successfully shows. In no other way could Israel have been saved from absorption among the heathen, and we can now see how even his legislative programme had its part to play as a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*.

2. Kamphausen's *Daniel* is likely to hold the palm for conservatism in Haupt's series. Some of the other scholars engaged on the Sacred Books have been charged with too great fondness for textual emendation, but it will be felt that if Kamphausen has erred, it has been on the side of caution. His ruling principle is that the consonantal text of Daniel is amongst the best preserved in the Old Testament, although the *Massoretic* text is marred by many errors, especially in the Aramaic portions. He thus frequently prefers the *Kēthîbh* to the *Kēri*, he is sceptical of emendations based on the versions, and declines to admit glosses where many other critics discover them. It is needless to say that he has always reasons to adduce for his decisions, and he presents fully and fairly the opinions he rejects, so that the reader is provided with the materials for coming to a conclusion of his own. Is it because of its predominating conservatism that so many editorial notes have been found necessary in this volume? Be that as it may, these notes have a value of their own. In ch. ii. 4<sup>a</sup>, where Oppert, Lenormant, Bevan, Kautsch-Marti and others regard ארמית as a gloss, Kamphausen denies that this is necessary. His editor, Professor Haupt, however, differs from him, maintaining that the word is a subsequent addition intended to mark the beginning of the Aramaic sections. Haupt further explains the bilingual character of Daniel by supposing that the whole of the book was written originally in Hebrew, and that some parts which had been lost were afterwards supplied from an Aramaic translation, which had probably been prepared by the author himself not long after

the composition of the Hebrew original. This gets rid of the difficulty which other theories fail to solve, of ch. vii. being written in Aramaic. [Here, by a very awkward misprint on p. 16, l. 17, *Hebrew* stands instead of *Aramaic*.] He finds no difficulty in the fact that the Aramaic sections do not read like a translation. "If a modern scholar writes a Latin essay and subsequently issues a translation in his vernacular, the latter may very well be more idiomatic than the original." According to another editorial note "Darius the Mede seems to be based on a confusion of the destruction of Nineveh (606) and the overthrow of Babylon at the hands of Cyrus (538), with the conquest of Babylon under Darius Hystaspis (520)." Surely this is more probable than Mr Pinches' identification of Darius with Gobryas, which might pass muster, had we only Dan. 5<sup>31</sup> (Eng.) to deal with, but seems utterly unsuitable to the whole picture of ch. vi., and especially the language of 6<sup>25</sup>. The enigmatical "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," Haupt renders, "There has been counted a mina (= Nebuchadnezzar), a shekel ( $\frac{1}{60}$  mina = Belshazzar, his supposed unworthy successor), and half-minas" (*parsin* or perhaps *perâsin*, referring to the division of the empire between the Medes and Persians).

Differing in this respect from its predecessors, the present volume has the *letters*, not the *ground*, coloured, black being employed for the Hebrew, and red for the Aramaic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Professor A. A. Bevan of Cambridge for the following additional notes on Kamphausen's work.—EDITOR.

Dan. iv. 5.—Kamphausen has misunderstood the view of Luzzatto (*Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo biblico*, 1865, p. 52), adopted by Marti, and approved by Nöldeke, with respect to the phrase כָּל-קַבֵּל דִּי. The view is that כל קבל is a compound of כָּל + ל + קַבֵּל, whereas the Massorettes took it to be a compound of כל + קַבֵּל, and vocalised it according to this false theory. In the case of כִּפְּעֵלֹ no such mistake was possible, and hence Kamphausen's objection is altogether pointless.

Dan. x. 20 (xi. 1).—Kamphausen is wrong in saying that the words עֲמִידִי and לוֹ "belong to the alleged gloss discovered by W. Robertson Smith." According to Robertson Smith's view, the latter half of Dan. xi. 1 is not a gloss, but a continuation of chap. x. 21, i.e., he held that we should read—וְאִין אַחֵר "and there is none that helpeth me against these, save that Michael your prince standeth as a strengthener and a defence to me."

Dan. xi. 4.—Kamphausen has here been led into a serious error by blindly following Lee's edition of the Peshîttâ. The Syriac translator did not read or guess כְּחֶרֶב, as Kamphausen suggests, for the word *saipeh* "his sword," in the printed Syriac text, is nothing but a mistake for *saupeh* "his end" (= אַחֲרֵיתוֹ), as any Syriac scholar might see at a glance. The reading *saupeh* is actually

3. This little work by Professor Bruston is a model of careful exposition. Sobriety and caution as well as solid argument mark every page of it, and these qualities are all the more welcome because they have been, until recently, conspicuous by their absence from the literature of Daniel and the Apocalypse. In regard to the former book, Bruston materially strengthens the position of those who identify the second beast with the Median, and the third with the Medo-Persian empire. While we are a little sceptical about his ingenious discovery of 666, the number of the Apocalyptic Beast, in Nimrod-ben-Cush, the whole of that section and particularly the discussion of the "deadly wound" of the Beast will repay careful study.

4. This is an interesting and suggestive brochure. From a careful examination of the Old Testament citations and allusions in the four great Pauline Epistles, Vollmer concludes that the Apostle quoted as a rule from the Septuagint (which, however, was known to him not in a single recension of uniform type, but as a number of separate books, some of which conformed in text to one, some to another, of our existing MSS.). Deviations from the Septuagint text, where these are not due to intentional or unintentional alteration, as well as composite citations and such passages as 1 Cor. ii. 9, are probably due to the use of a *Jewish Anthology of the Old Testament*. The author handles very happily the question of Paul's estimate of the Old Testament and shows how completely in his use of it he was the child of his time. Finally, a comparison is instituted between the language of Philo and that of Paul, and it is urged as highly probable that the latter was acquainted with the writings of the Alexandrian philosopher.

J. A. SELBIE.

adopted in the Urmia edition of the Syriac Old Testament (printed in 1852), and rests on manuscript authority; it is found, for instance, in a MS. of the Prophets according to the Peshîṭtā version, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1965, fol. 252<sup>a</sup>.

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**Das Geheimnis in der Religion.**

*Vortrag gehalten am 11. Februar 1896 von Bernhard Duhm, Dr und Ord. Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 32. Price, Pfg.60.*

**The Haggadah according to the Rite of Yemen.**

*Together with the Arabic-Hebrew Commentary. Published for the first time from MSS. of Yemen, with an Introduction, Translation and Critical and Philological Notes, by William H. Greenburg, Ph.D. London: David Nutt, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. xxvi. 55 (with 80 pp. of Text). Price, 4s. 6d.*

IN this lecture Professor Duhm discusses some interesting points connected with religion. The learned Professor's subject is the element of mystery in religion, which is correctly traced to the belief that man stands in a very close relation to the invisible world—to supersensuous existences that exercise a controlling influence over human life. That such a belief has been cherished from the earliest ages the history of the race sufficiently attests. The formation of the relation with the invisible world does not depend on man—he has no voice in the matter. The superhuman being acts spontaneously. One in the form of a man, or of a bird, or of a serpent, or of some other animal, unexpectedly presents himself—a traveller enters a house and accepts its hospitality, a warrior suddenly places himself at the head of an army when the issue of a battle is about to be decided, and, hey presto! the relation is formed, religion begins. Should it be said that this is but the myth over again, Duhm's reply is (and he is no traditionalist) that, myth or no myth, it has to be reckoned with; "if any one desires to know what religion actually is, he must take account of these things whether he believes them or not" (pp. 9, 10). The formation of the religious relation contains no guarantee of its continuance. The revealing agent may withdraw; those who were favoured with the revelation may remove from the locality. In order to the persistence of the religion the supersensuous communications must be continued. These communications were made to the seers, not to the people generally. And in this connection Professor Duhm emphasises the difference between the religion of Israel, as exhibited in the Old Testament, and that of the pagan nations—laying special stress on the fact that it was not the *miraculous* element which formed the most influential factor in the development of the religion of Israel. If Israel had



had men simply like Elijah or Elisha, we should, to-day, know little more of them than their names, and a few incidents of their public life (p. 21). The subject is carried into the Christian period, down to our own days. The Roman Catholic peoples—with the appearances of saints (so-called), and the consequent pilgrimages and acts of worship, which have a distinct place in their religious life in our time—open their doors wide to the *mystery* in religion as it was conceived of old. Protestants shut the door in its face. Mystery has practically disappeared from their religion as a system. The tendency is, on the one side, to identify religion with the doctrine of the Church, or with the religious conception of the world, or, on the other side, to regard the ethical element (*die Ethik*) as the main factor in religion, whereas it is simply a product of religion, and a sign of its character. "We talk, in our churches, no longer with God, but about God. . . . The ordinary man regards religion as a prudent self-insurance against the eventualities of a world to come." The real mystery in religion is found among us Protestants—if it is found at all—in true prayer. When a man is laid hold of by the conviction that he is in the presence of the living God, he knows, in his experience, what is really meant by the "mystery in religion," which Professor Duhm discusses with so much ability, and in so sympathetic a spirit.

Our age is fruitful in the publication of records of the past. Dr Greenburg's volume does not carry us into a very remote past, but it introduces us to a part of the world which is not easily accessible to explorers. Anything which throws light on the country of Mohammed is of special interest in these days. In the present state of the Mohammedan world no one can safely venture to forecast what a day may bring forth. If the Turk has to leave Constantinople, the Arabian Peninsula may have as large an interest for European politicians as for the Bedouin who have made it their home for ages.

Our little volume takes us to Arabia, but it does not concern itself with the followers of Mohammed. The subject is the Passover ritual in use among the Jews in Yemen. According to Dr Greenburg the Jews in the south of Arabia most probably possessed a liturgy of their own, differing from every other modern ritual. The Haggadah translated in this volume agrees partly with the Spanish and partly with the German liturgy, and was probably in existence before these. Maimonides' "Letter of Consolation," addressed to the suffering Jewish congregations of Yemen, in the latter half of the twelfth century, exercised a powerful influence. Before the appearance of that letter the Jews in South Arabia drew their

ritual from the Talmud and Midrash. Before the close of the twelfth century it was recast in accordance with the views of Maimonides, and in the form it then assumed it appears to have remained without much change.

The first section of the Introduction (of 26 pp.) contains a historical account of the Yemen Liturgy—summarised above. This is followed by five short sections of which the subjects are—Comparison of the Yemen text with other texts; Ancient Commentaries; Sources of the Haggadah; Arabic Translations and Interpretations of the Haggadah; Description of Manuscripts.

Arabic translations became necessary for the Jews in the Arabian Peninsula, as Aramaic translations were required for their countrymen in lands where the Aramaic dialect was in use. Of these Arabic translations some are literal renderings of the Hebrew text. These, as being best adapted to the needs of the common people, were most generally used. There are other translations which contain a good deal of allegorical interpretation, and in some parts Kabbalistic elements are conspicuous. It is one of the latter which Dr Greenburg has selected for translation. The text is divided into seventy-six paragraphs or chapters, which are numbered; the chapters in the English translation bear the same numbers, so that the English reader has no difficulty in making himself master of the contents of this interesting prayer-book.

The source of the Haggadah is the injunction contained in Exod. xiii. 8: "And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt." The history of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt was to be carefully taught to the successive generations of Israelites. The events well deserved to be kept alive in the memory of the nation, and a wise provision was made for this,—a fact worthy of the attention of the Protestant Churches of Britain in these days. To a true Israelite it was a pleasure to linger over the history of the glorious period of the Exodus. This, in the course of time, led to numerous allegorical explanations of the narrative proper. And as the basis of Dr Greenburg's treatise is one of the Agadic manuscripts, the English reader will find in the fifty-five pages of English translation fair specimens of that allegorical exposition which, in the hands of the Jewish rabbis, lost the respect to which, in certain circumstances, and within just limits, it might have made a reasonable claim.

This notice may fitly close with two specimens of the allegorical expositions referred to above. The first is in connection with the words of Exod. ii. 23, "The king of Egypt died." The Agadic addition is as follows: "The Rabbis say that he was plagued with leprosy. Now he had three counsellors who were prophets—viz.,

Job, Jethro, and Balaam. On taking counsel with them as to what his remedy should be, Balaam said, 'Thou canst not obtain any cure until thou slaughter some of the Jews, and taking a pool full of their blood bathe thyself therein, then shalt thou be healed.' At this Jethro fled, and was therefore saved (from the wrath of God). Balaam gave evil counsel, and was therefore killed. Job was silent, and his silence was like the majesty of God."

The other example refers to the order to eat the unleavened bread before midnight. The narrative states that at midnight the Lord slew the first-born (Exod. xii. 29). The paschal lamb must, of course, have been slain, and the lintels and side-posts of the doors sprinkled with the blood, before that hour. But why was it prohibited to eat of the unleavened bread after midnight? Let Scottish parents listen to the Agadic answer. "A child who is able to eat unleavened bread is obliged to do so, but if they prolong the narration of the departure from Egypt, the children will fall asleep, and will thus be prevented from being initiated into the precepts. Therefore those who are grown up should not dilate upon the narration before the meal, lest the children fall asleep. . . . After the meal, it is permitted us to prolong the narration at our pleasure." Let those who believe that the Scottish people are the descendants of the ten tribes take note.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

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**Adolf Harnack, Das Edict des Antoninus Pius: und Eine bisher nicht erkannte Schrift Novatian's.**

*Texte und Untersuchungen. Band xiii. Heft 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. Pp. 64 and 58. Price, M.4.*

THE indefatigable Professor of Church History at Berlin carries on with unabated energy and unequalled brilliancy the investigation and estimation of documents of the early Church. He makes here a bold attempt to rescue two such documents, the one from a false paternity, the other from the stigma of forgery. In the first case, which is treated in the second half of the pamphlet, the task is comparatively easy. It is the tract *de laude martyrii* which is in question. It is found embedded in the collection of Cyprian's works, in company with several other tractates which have been shown to be non-Cyprianic. It would almost seem that some early scribe had interleaved the works of the Carthaginian Bishop with a number of cognate works of unknown or unacknowledged authorship. For one after another the tract of Sextus II. *Ad Novatianum* (Harnack, *T. U.* xiii. 1) and the tract *Adv. Aleatores* have been

separated from the collection, and, what is of special importance to the subject in hand, the tracts *De Spectaculis*, *De bono Pudicitiae*, and *Quod idola* have all been vindicated as writings of Novatian himself (by Weyman, Demmler, and Haussleiter). Now Harnack takes up yet another of the Cyprianic tracts, proves without difficulty that it is not the work of Cyprian and asks whether it also is not of Roman origin, whether in fact it is not from the pen of Novatian.

The tract *de laude martyrii* has not hitherto enjoyed a very high reputation. It is highly rhetorical, artificial, and not free from bathos. There have been critics who frankly set it aside as a mere school exercise in rhetoric, as though some later professor of Christian eloquence had given his pupils for a theme, "a letter of Novatian to his flock in prison." Harnack defends, however, the genuine earnestness and warmth which underlie the rhetoric, and traces the latter to its source in an unusual familiarity with classical Latin, more especially with Vergil. This familiarity is abundantly established by a long list of quotations and allusions, and supplies one of the points of identification of the author with Novatian. "Here in fact, for the first time in the history of Latin Christian literature, exhaustive use is made of Vergil, the great poetry-book of the Romans." The description of Gehenna and Paradise is evidently derived from the Roman poet. From the document itself it is shown that it was written at the very beginning of a persecution, at the close of a comparatively long period of peace, in the West but not in Africa, by a man who was an ecclesiastic but not a bishop, who had read Tertullian and Irenaeus, and whose quotations from the Gospels are those especially favoured by Novatian. The proof is lucid, cumulative, and abundant, and doubtless the tract *de laude martyrii* will take its place in the growing list of works ascribed to the Roman Presbyter. As such it throws a much needed light upon his character, opinions and position at the beginning of the Decian persecution, and before he had been forced into the position of a heretic and schismatic.

The proof is satisfactory and the result valuable. It is otherwise with the other task which Harnack has set himself. After long and careful examination we cannot admit that he has proved the decree of Antoninus Pius to be genuine. The attempt is a veritable *tour de force*, compelling admiration and gratitude but not assent. The decree has found few to believe in it since the beginning of this century. It rests upon the authority of only two independent witnesses (Eusebius and one MS. of Justin), and Harnack himself reduces these to one. For he shows with great probability that in spite of the fact that the two sources ascribe the decree to different emperors, the copyist who appended it to the works of Justin must have had Eusebius before him. He

explains the contradiction in the title by the theory that Justin's copyist from other information altered Eusebius' wrong title; Eusebius left the title which he knew to be wrong, while in the context he ascribed the decree to the right Emperor, Antoninus Pius. This may be so, but it certainly fails to set aside the suspicion thus aroused at the very outset. Further difficulties follow. The decree as it stands in Eusebius is in part untranslatable, in part impossible. It makes the Emperor contradict himself, speaking in one breath as a heathen, in the next as a Christian. Harnack tries, therefore, to reconstruct the original text. He excises two or three sentences which destroy the grammar, the sense and the historic situation alike. He is left with a document which Antoninus Pius might have written, and he tries to show that he did.

But the problem still bristles with difficulties. The decree is still amazingly pro-Christian. It opens with the suggestion that the gods themselves are their own best defenders. It flouts the cowardice of the pagans, their own faithlessness and indifference. It concludes by ordering the acquittal of any Christian accused of "atheism" by private delation, and the punishment of the delator. Is there any place for such a decree as this in the policy of Antoninus Pius or his successor? It is quite true that the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, whose authenticity is now defended by the great name of Mommsen, goes a long way towards protecting Christians from *malicious* prosecution by private persons. Harnack admits that this late decree goes "einen Schritt weiter," but how wide a step it is, from the punishment of delations which upon trial are proved to be malicious, *calumnie gratia*, to making the delations in themselves punishable whether proved or unproved, and at the same time dismissing the charge forthwith (*ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολεύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος*). Is not a document which, after being purified of obviously Christian interpolations, still issues in such a conclusion, still open to the gravest suspicion? Harnack meets the force of such objections by giving the decree a merely local and special application to the Province of Asia. The more the local and special character of the decree is emphasized, however, the more is its importance for Church history reduced. Its possibility is vindicated at the expense of its significance.

External evidence also is either wanting or unfavourable. Particularly the witness of Melito weighs heavily against genuineness. He cites edicts of Pius addressed to the local authorities at Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and *πρὸς πάντας Ἑλλήνας*, but precisely when we should have expected a reference to our decree there is none. Harnack meets this difficulty by pressing a phrase of Melito



so as to confine his reference to edicts issued during the time when Marcus Aurelius already shared the throne with Pius.

Taking into consideration the conflicting titles, the singularities in Eusebius' manner of introducing the decree, the external evidence and, above all, the contents, the case against genuineness is very strong. And the verdict on Harnack's brilliant effort to rehabilitate the decree will probably be "not proven." That will not hinder us from admiring once more the amazing ability of the advocate, his grasp of facts and power of combining them. And if his study does not establish the result aimed at, it has provided an opportunity of bringing together a quantity of material which no student of the early church can afford to overlook. Specially noteworthy are the examination of Trajan's rescript (p. 41), a letter from Mommsen on Delation (p. 47), and the closing pages, which throw light on the function of the Provincial *κοινόν* and its influence on the Synodal organisation of the Church.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

### Gesammelte Aufsätze.

*Von Albrecht Ritschl. Neue Folge. Freiburg und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 219. Price, M.5.40.*

A FORMER collection of A. Ritschl's Essays, chiefly bearing on the doctrine of the Church, appeared in 1893, and was noticed in this *Review* in July 1895. We have now presented to us this second group of papers, which, from their intrinsic importance, are likely to attract even more attention than the first. The editor, as before, is Ritschl's son and biographer, who explains in an introductory note the principles of his selection. The body of the volume is occupied with three weighty articles originally contributed to the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* in 1865 and 1868, entitled "Historical Studies on the Christian Doctrine of God." Prefixed to these is an older publication on "The Relation of the Confession to the Church" (1854), and following them is a lecture on "Conscience" (1876), which has already been the subject of a good deal of hostile criticism. The series is closed by a paper of comments on passages from St Bernard on the chief topics of theology. The paper on the place of Confessions goes back on the old controversy with the Lutherans regarding the so-called Evangelical Church "Union" (of Lutherans and Reformed) brought about by royal influence in Prussia and elsewhere, and keenly resented by the strict Lutherans as imperilling their Confessional position. Kahnis had declared that

"the Lutheran Confession is the rule of faith and doctrine, the point of unity of fellowship, . . . the norm of all the forms of life of the Church," or, as another writer put it more roundly, "the essence of the Evangelical Church is its Confession." This is the thesis which Ritschl vigorously contests, while fully recognising the utility and even necessity of the Confession as "the indispensable condition of grasping the objective certainty of salvation, and apprehending the saving truth of revelation" (p. 22). The permanent value of the volume, however, lies in the searching historical discussions in the articles on "The Christian Doctrine of God." Nothing could show more clearly than these papers the thoroughness with which Ritschl prepared himself for his dogmatic work by studies in the field of history. They constitute a monograph on this subject—the Doctrine of God—which stands alone of its kind, and is full of information and suggestion both for the historian of dogma and for the systematic theologian. Ritschl's contention is that the Reformation idea of God is ruled by the Scotist nominalism with its notion of an absolute, arbitrary will as the basis of the divine government of the world. His first paper is an exhaustive examination of the theories of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Gabriel Biel, in the scholastic period; the second discusses the influence of the nominalist ideas on Luther and Calvin, with special reference to the doctrine of Predestination, and the Arminian reaction as governed by the idea of "equity"; the third treats in detail of the Socinian development, which Ritschl supposes to rest on the same idea of God as the Predestination-doctrine of Luther, Calvin, and their followers. Calvin, it should be observed, he regards as a follower of Luther in his Predestination view, only that Calvin carries out the position more logically in his doctrine of a *double* predestination. The papers are not easy reading, and there is much that is challengeable in their bold historical groupings and deductions, but it is impossible to peruse them without lasting profit. The lecture on "Conscience" is chiefly remarkable for its discussion of the right of conscience to be regarded as "the voice of God," and for the remarks which grow out of this on the idea of Revelation. It is characteristic of Ritschl, with his dread of anything that bears the semblance of a natural theology, that he refuses to see in conscience an immediate witness for God, and views it as a product of education and social environment (pp. 175, 182-3). How this is to be reconciled with the unconditioned worth which he, in common with Kant, ascribed somewhat earlier to moral law, does not appear.

JAMES ORR.

**Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.**

*Von Dr Friedrich Blass, ord. Prof. d. klass. Philologie a. d. Univ. Halle-Wittenberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 329. Price, M.5.40.*

THE incursion of a great classical scholar like Dr Blass into the realm of New Testament study naturally arouses the liveliest interest; and all who welcomed the commentary on the *Acts* will welcome yet more heartily a New Testament Grammar by the editor of Kühner. Dr Blass has taken up this new work with a thoroughness which is worthy of his reputation. The reviewer is accordingly spared the trouble of searching for mistakes, and will perform his functions best, within the short space available, if he describes the contents and scope of the book, pointing out at the same time matters of principle on which opinions will differ.

The new Grammar is before all things the work of a great Atticist. On points of classical idiom Dr Blass's dicta have of course the utmost weight. We trace the master's instinct in the acute distinctions of literary and popular elements in New Testament Greek, and in the firm grasp of grammar which ensures us absolutely against impossible translations or careless statements of linguistic phenomena. The book is moreover succinct and precise to a degree, perfectly arranged, and entirely lucid. There are, however, some disadvantages, partly peculiar to the author, partly common to most pure classical scholars who try their special methods on the New Testament. Dr Blass's edition of Kühner received severe treatment from the greatest living comparative philologist, Professor Brugmann of Leipzig,<sup>1</sup> for its magnificent ignoring of all modern work on the history of Greek forms. The weakness in historical grammar which shows itself in the larger work naturally does not obtrude itself here except negatively. We miss the historical treatment of Hellenistic variations; and though we find their relations to Attic and to modern Greek duly pointed out, we have no attempt to fix scientific principles by which we may decide how far the New Testament Greek has travelled along the road which joins those extremes. Blass's choice in these cases hardly escapes the appearance of caprice. The methods of a lifelong student in classical texts appear rather too prominently when Blass decides between the various readings of numerous and ancient New Testament MSS., or deserts them all to follow conjecture. His readings appear to be selected on subjective and internal grounds, as is natural and inevitable when a Greek scholar has to

<sup>1</sup> See Streitberg's *Anzeiger f. Idg. Sprach- u. Altertumskunde*, 1896, p. 50.

do with texts preserved only in scanty and late MSS. But whatever may be the liberty exercised by a classical editor, it must surely be admitted that such methods are hardly in place when we have a textual tradition securely traced to within two centuries of the autographs; and more rigidly scientific principles must be applied. We may meanwhile be grateful to Dr Blass for a welcome innovation in that he carefully tabulates the readings of the Uncials as he goes along: when therefore he follows weak authority, or none at all, we are able to recognise the fact at once.

The most important point at which the new Grammar touches New Testament criticism is, however, not text but exegesis. Here Blass distinctly takes sides with a school which has been markedly rising into prominence as the fuller investigation of the later stages of Greek has revealed the affinity between the colloquial dialects of to-day and those of the first century A.D. Scholars have been declaring the equivalence in New Testament Greek of tenses, cases, prepositions, or constructions generally, when it appears that contemporary or slightly later Greek shows a tendency to fuse them together; and when modern Greek makes the fusion complete the equivalence is regarded as certain. In discussing these doctrines from the exegetical point of view, we are in danger of prejudice against that which, by weakening the precision of New Testament Greek, destroys so many finer shades of meaning. We need great caution, and a patient and open-minded study; for the new laxity is not like that, born of ignorance and dogmatic predilections, to which Winer gave the deathblow. It is part of a movement which claims our most earnest attention from many sides at once. One set of scholars bids us remember that constructions which could not be distinguished in Aramaic must be indistinguishable in Greek which is based on Aramaic sources; or again, that words which translate the same Hebrew or Aramaic original must, by a kind of Euclidean reasoning, be equal to one another. From the other side steps up the student of modern Greek, prepared to forbid us from recognising life and vigour in constructions of New Testament Greek which are commonplace in the language of to-day. The "aoristic" perfect, and the equivalence of *ἵνα* with subjunctive to a simple infinitive, may serve as specimens. It will be useful to note as they occur some of the concessions which Dr Blass rather freely makes to this school of interpretation. A lexical note on p. 4 makes the present of *εἶδον* to be *βλέπω* or *θεωρῶ*, and similarly (p. 53) that of *ἐφαγον* to be *τρώγω* in St John; which would seem to prevent our seeing in these presents any separate force of their own. The superlative (properly so called) is only allowed to exist in the literary style, so that *μείζων*

means indifferently "greater" and "greatest," while μέγιστος can generally only stand for "very great," the *elative* use. The preposition εἰς (p. 119) has largely absorbed ἐν,<sup>1</sup> and in such cases is not to be distinguished from it. A corollary of this (p. 121) is that πιστεύειν with εἰς, ἐν and ἐπί is the same thing, and the "classically correct πιστεύειν τινί" occurs with the same meaning. Blass treats ἐν ἐμοί (Gal. i. 16) as merely equivalent to ἐμοί, "to me": "in me," he observes, "that is, in my soul, would be unnatural" (p. 128). We are not to seek for distinctions between περί and ὑπέρ (p. 131), nor, to pass to another sphere, between ὁ πατήρ and ὁ πατήρ μου when applied to God in St John (p. 161). The Greek expressions τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ and ἐαυτόν (Luke ix. 24, 25) are to be treated as identical because they both translate יְשׁוּעָה (p. 163). In Matt. viii. 19, εἰς γραμματεὺς is merely "a scribe" (p. 140), and in xxii. 5, εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρόν = εἰς τ. ἰ. αὐτοῦ (p. 161.)<sup>2</sup> Τίς, by an Alexandrian usage, may be a relative (p. 172): Acts xiii. 25 is "I am not whom ye think me to be," and Mark xiv. 36, Luke xvii. 8 and Jas. iii. 13 (the last with alternative) are further examples. Finally, in describing a considerable breakdown of the difference between ἄλλος and ἕτερος (p. 175 sq.), we note that Gal. i. 6, 7 is passed over, though the survival of a strong distinction is there vital to the sense.

I have not been quoting these dicta in order to condemn them in the gross. Probably a plausible case could be made for most of them, and not a few readers will accept the whole list with small discomfort. But they seem to me to represent a kind of reasoning which can only be accepted after the most rigid scrutiny, for the results are wide-reaching indeed. Students brought up on commentaries like those of Westcott and Lightfoot will feel that it is not mere sentiment which rebels when phrases of deep significance, as they have been taught, become mere neologisms of late Greek, with no distinct force of their own. For what reason must we give up Paul's "to reveal his Son *in me*"—the Apostle as the lamp out of which the divine Light shines—or regard the difference between *believing* Christ and *believing in* Christ (John vi. 29, 30, viii. 30, 31, &c.) as mere theological hairsplitting? The subject is too wide for examination in a review, but I cannot resist expressing my conviction that the New Testament itself is its own witness in most of the points where its language is sup-

<sup>1</sup> Of course, within strict limits, this is undeniable. For Attic foreshadowing of it see Meisterhans (*Gr. d. Att. Insc.*), p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Dr H. A. A. Kennedy calls my attention to earlier uses of ἴδιος = ἐαυτοῦ (Meisterhans, p. 194, and elsewhere), while repeated examples of strict use are found in Plutarch. The N.T. language here is doubtless transitional.



posed to be loose. Contemporary or later writers, who had no such momentous facts and doctrines to define, may have observed no distinction between these "equivalents," which are nevertheless used in the New Testament with an appropriateness never failing to justify itself when careful thought seeks the inner meaning of a passage as a whole. Till stronger proof comes—and I think the burden of proof here lies on the champions of the new views—is it not fair to claim that in such weighty and careful style as that of the New Testament the language has not lost the precision and force which make the grammatical system of classical Greek unique as an instrument of thought?

Some examples of Blass's textual decisions will illustrate what has been said on that subject above. In Mark xv. 6 (p. 35) ὃν ἂν ἡτοῦντο is accepted from D and G, and it would seem that the considerations in favour of this weakly attested reading are the assumption that παρηγοῦντο in its classical sense will not fit, and the solitariness of ὅσπερ in the New Testament. On Col. ii. 18 (p. 67) he accepts *κενεμβατεύων*, "nach wohl sicherer Conjekture," but without naming the author.<sup>1</sup> In Rom. i. 15 (pp. 74 n., 130) he conjectures τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμος, "nach Lat., scil. ἐμὶ"—surely a very improbable construction for which to disturb the text. In Acts i. 12 (p. 84) we must not read Ἐλαιῶνος, because ἐλαιῶν appears elsewhere in the name of the hill. Following Pearce and Le Clerc, Blass reads ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μ. πόλιν in Acts xvi. 12 (p. 96): Hort's brilliant Πιερίδος he does not mention. Gal. iv. 13 he emends, very needlessly it would seem: "sicher δι' ἀσθενείας, unter Krankheit" (p. 129). In Phil. ii. 13 ὑπὲρ <οὐ> τῆς εὐδοκίας is joined with the next verse (p. 132). Acts x. 36 is emended (p. 171) by dropping κύριος, so that οὗτος may refer to λόγος. Matt. xxvi. 50 is to read αἶρε or ἔταίρε αἶρε (p. 172), a conjecture recalling Henry Bradshaw's brilliant ἔργα <ἀργὰ> εὐρεθήσεται in 2 Pet. iii. 10. Acts xx. 24 (p. 219 n.) is read ὥστε τελειῶσαι; and ὁ λύει is taken in 1 John iv. 3 (p. 249). How far readings like many of these will win favour need not be discussed here. One is tempted to expect for them and their kind the admiration and the fate of Bentley's emendations of Horace.

Some miscellaneous points may be collected in conclusion. On p. 55 we have λακέω (not λάσκω) as present of ἐλάκησεν (Acts i. 18), with support from Aristophanes. The inclusion of νή among particles absent from the New Testament (p. 60) is wrong: *vid.* 1 Cor. xv. 31. In Phil. ii. 1 (p. 81) Blass would translate εἴ τι "if . . . is of any value," and substitute τι for τις throughout.

<sup>1</sup> I notice that Schmiedel (Winer, ed. 8, p. 138) can only quote Lightfoot's discussion of ἐπιούσιος at second hand.

Ἀπὸ μῆδης is explained (p. 137) as originally an athletic metaphor: ἀπὸ μῆδης ὑσπλαγίδος (Aristoph.), "from the fall of the rope," i.e., "from the start." On p. 171 we have Acts xxi. 16 rendered "bringing us to Mnason, with whom . . ."; and soon after, Blass pronounces for τὴν ἀρχὴν "at all" in John viii. 25, and ὅτι the indirect "why." He interprets ἀπεκδυσάμενος in Col. ii. 15 by giving some other cases of middle used for active (p. 181); but he regards the phenomenon as strictly sporadic in the New Testament, the distinction between αἰτῶ and αἰτοῦμαι, for instance, being subtly preserved. Under the subjunctive I see no provision for the difficult ὡς βάλῃ of Mark iv. 26. The use of ἵνα with indic. pres. Blass summarily dismisses as a mere corruption (p. 207), ignoring (as my friend Dr Kennedy reminds me) the progressive appearance of this phenomenon from the time of the inscriptions down to Modern Greek (Hatzidakis, *Einl. in d. ngr. Gr.*, pp. 216-218). In 2 Tim. ii. 25 Blass rejects the optative δόῃ (*sic*), and translates μήποτε "ob vielleicht" (p. 208): on p. 49 he three times prints δάῃ, but as an optative, while the footnote exhibits two optatives in -ῶῃ, and three in -ῶῃ(ν)! It is fair to say that the printer rarely nods like this. In the Conditional Sentences (which appear in the old fourfold divisions, and without traces of either Goodwin or Gildersleeve), there is the noteworthy rule that in the New Testament the negative for εἰ with indicative in ordinary conditions (class I.) is normally οὐ (pp. 209, 249). Οὐ and μή in New Testament have become to Blass purely mechanical. Thus in John iii. 18 ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν is a false reading (p. 249 n.): the delicate distinction between *quod non crediderit* here (the charge) and *quod non credidit* in 1 John v. 10 (the fact) he would evidently dismiss as an unwarranted refinement. The curious zeugma in 1 Tim. iv. 3, which W H try to emend, Blass quotes unsuspectingly (p. 285). (Has anyone, by the way, noticed the exact parallel in Lucian, *Charon*, § 2?) We have, as might be expected from Dr Blass, a page on Hiatus (p. 290), followed by a rather curious section on the "unnützer Zeitvertreib" of seeking verses. But though even the πᾶσα δόσις in Jas. i. 17 is disallowed, some very clumsy verse-fragments are found or manufactured in Hebrews, with an apparent suggestion that they may not be accidental there. I might point out that there are two beautiful anapaests in John v. 14, and with no more change than Blass employs we can make a respectable hexameter on the same page. The book concludes with the rhetorical figures of Gorgias, rather barren spoil: a page or two on Hebrew poetical parallelism in the New Testament would have surely been much more valuable. The point illustrates a feature which marks the whole book. With the reservations noted above, we can find small fault with the grammar as a register of deviations from the Attic.

But is this what the New Testament student so greatly needs? He will generally come to grammar for light on interpretation, and here he will get but sparing help from Blass, who no doubt expects him to turn to Kühner as his basis, the New Testament Grammar mainly cataloguing differences. We inevitably compare this briefer handbook with the new Winer, of which Schmiedel has given us a fresh instalment since Blass's book appeared. The latter may, as Blass suggests (p. vi.), be a case of μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν. But it may fairly be said that Blass achieves his brevity by slurring what is for practical purposes distinctly the more important side of grammar. The ideal is assuredly something between the two.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

**Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the  
Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum.**

*By R. F. Harper. Vols. III., IV. University of Chicago Press.  
London: Luzac & Co. 1896.*

OF the cuneiform tablets from the library of Nineveh, which are now in the British Museum, not the least interesting are the letters and despatches which were received at the Assyrian Court from various officials both civil and military. Along with them we find other letters of a more private nature, some of them from princes and princesses, others again from persons of a less exalted character.

From time to time Assyriologists have, as it were, made excursions into this province of Assyrian literature, and have copied and published some of the texts. The largest collection is that brought out by Mr S. A. Smith in his *Assyrian Letters from the Royal Library at Nineveh*. The first attempt, however, to publish all the letters is that which is now being made by Professor Harper. Already four well-filled and excellently-printed volumes of them have appeared, and four more are promised. Then the editor will give abstracts of the letters, as well as textual notes, a vocabulary, and a list of proper names.

The work has been performed with great care and accuracy. It is no slight matter to copy patiently such a large collection of tablets, many of which are broken, defaced, or otherwise difficult to read, while several of the most interesting among them have already been edited by other scholars. How large, indeed, the collection is may be gathered from the fact that, according to Bezold's *Catalogue*, there are no less than 1575 letters in the "K" collection alone. And the "K" collection does not by any means

represent the whole body of tablets which have come from the library of Nineveh.

The letters belong to the period extending from the rise of the Second Assyrian Empire under Tiglath-pileser III. down to the fall of the monarchy, though the greater part of them was written in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assur-bani-pal. They offer many difficulties to the translator, due in some measure to unusual words and grammatical forms which occur in them, but more often the result of colloquialisms which are not to be found in the literary texts, or even to imperfections of grammar. On the whole, however, the Assyrian scribes were well taught, and instances even of bad spelling are not common. As Professor Harper justly remarks, the difficulties presented by the epistolary style can only be overcome by means of an abundance of materials, and he has therefore done rightly in publishing fragments as well as perfect texts. Moreover, a fragment, when interpreted in the light of fuller documents, may sometimes contain a historical fact of importance.

For history, indeed, these Assyrian letters are of considerable value, and great use has already been made of them for this purpose by George Smith and other writers. But they also throw light on the religion and law of Assyria, and above all, on the private life and manners of the people. From a philological point of view, moreover, they are of great interest.

Unfortunately Professor Harper's volumes are at present a sealed book to all except Assyriologists, and the public may perhaps complain that he has given them no clue whatsoever—not even through a table of contents—to the meaning of the Letters he has published. I am afraid the sale of the work will suffer in consequence. It is true every Assyriologist will have to get it, but the Assyriologists are still but few.

And yet the letters included in the two volumes just published are full of interest. Here, for example, is one which forcibly reminds us how like the ancient civilised world was to our own. It is a short and hastily-written note from a certain Saul-sa-mita-bulludh (No. 341):—"To the king my lord, thy servant Saul-sa-mita-bulludh. May there be peace to the king my lord; may Nebo and Merodach be favourable to the king my lord for ever and ever! Bau-gamilat the concubine of the king has just fallen ill; she cannot eat a morsel of food. Let the king my lord send a message at once so that some physician may come and see her!"

Another letter (No. 337) is from a Babylonian astronomer. The writer, Abil-Istar, says: "As regards the eclipse of the moon concerning which the king my lord wrote to me, that watch should be kept for it in the cities of Akkad, Borsippa, and Eridu," the fol-

lowing is an account of "what we observed in the city of Akkad." Here, however, the tablet is so mutilated as to render the account unintelligible, and we have to pass on to the end of the letter. "As for the eclipse of the sun which the king my lord instructed me to observe whether it took place or not, I send an account to the king my lord of what passed before my eyes. It was an eclipse of the moon only which occurred: it darkened the provinces: its shadow (?) was complete over the land of the Amorites (Palestine); the land of the Amorites, the land of the Hittites, and also the land of the Kaldu (Chaldeans) were in darkness." The combination of "Amorites" (*Amurrû*) and "Hittites" (*Khattû*) is interesting, reminding us as it does of the language of the Bible. So also is the mention of "the city of Akkad," which gave its name to the northern half of Babylonia. The three great observatories of the country seem to have been at Akkad in the north, at Borsippa in the centre, and at Eridu in the extreme south. The University of Borsippa was still famous in the days of Strabo.

Another letter (No. 317), sent from northern Syria, speaks of "the servants of the king" who had "gone from Carchemish to the city of Arziza," the original, perhaps, of Ptolemy's Eragiza, and further alludes to "the men of the country of Yau[di]." This is the Ya'dî of the inscriptions of Sinjerli, to which belonged the Yaudâ of the Tel el-Amarna tablets whose name is so curiously identical with that of the Palestinian Yaudâ or Jews. In another letter, which came from the frontiers of the Mannâ or Minni on the eastern border of Armenia, the writer states that he had despatched a certain Istar-Babilâ, whom the king knows to be "a master of languages," to the city of "Tigris." This "city of Tigris," however, had nothing to do with the river which the Greeks called by the same name, but its name may be connected with that of Tigranu or Tigranes, whom Mr Pinches has found described on a contract-tablet of the age of Cyrus as an "Armenian" prince, in remarkable agreement with Xenophon's *Cyropædia*.

These are a few samples of the facts to be collected from the Letters Professor Harper is now publishing, and will serve to indicate the interest and value of the work. The cuneiform texts contained in it will prove to be a rich mine of information for the future historian of the ancient East.

A. H. SAYCE.



**An Æthiopian History.**

*Written in Greek by Heliodorus. Englished by Thomas Underdowne. Anno 1587. With an Introduction by Charles Whibley. London: Published by David Nutt, in the Strand, 1895. The Tudor Translations, edited by W. E. Henley.*

THE "Æthiopian Historie" (Τὰ Αἰθιοπικά) is the story of the adventures of Chariclea, an Ethiopian princess, and her lover Theagenes, originally written in Greek by Heliodorus of Emesa in Syria, whom later tradition has identified with a certain Heliodorus who was Bishop of Tricca in Thessaly in the fourth century. Underdowne's translation was published in 1587, being revised and corrected from an earlier edition made ten years previously. If by Englishing a Greek book be meant turning a Greek book into an English one it would be hard to find a more successful translator than Underdowne. His "Æthiopian Historie" is written so naturally, and in such idiomatic English, that it never once suggests the idea of its being a translation, except possibly in the metrical rendering of some poetical quotations which are made in the original, for Underdowne's poetry is not always equal to his prose. We learn from Mr Whibley's interesting introduction that the translation was made chiefly from a Latin version of Heliodorus, but that Underdowne really knew little either of Latin or Greek. "His ignorance of Greek and Latin was frank and magnificent. There is no page of him that is not shamed by a childish misunderstanding of the original. That he used the Latin more than the Greek is proved by the fact that he follows the ingenious Warschewiczki (the Latin translator) into his every error." But whatever his ignorance of the original languages may have been, and though his translation cannot be recommended as a crib, Underdowne succeeded, however he managed it, in turning the story of Theagenes and Chariclea into an English classic.

The work is an early example of what we now call a novel. And as we read it it is surprising to discover how old some of the tricks of the novelist's trade are. As Mr Whibley says, "there is no artifice of the 'historical novel' which Heliodorus does not anticipate." He plunges at once into the midst of his story, and the opening passage, which relates the arrival of Chariclea and her lover on the coast of Egypt, after many adventures by sea and land, might have been written by the late G. P. R. James:—"The day had begun to smile cheerily, and the sun was already gilding the tops of the hills, when a band of men, in arms and appearance pirates, having ascended the summit of a mountain which stretches

down towards the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, paused and contemplated the sea which lay expanded before them."<sup>1</sup>

The pirates discover the hero and the heroine, who have but just escaped from another band of robbers of the sea, in sore affliction on the shore, and make them prisoners, and so the story starts. Chariclea had been sent away from Ethiopia in her infancy. She had been carried to Delphi in Greece, where she grew up and became a priestess of Apollo. Theagenes, a Thessalian, who came as a deputy to the Pythian games, fell in love with her. The lovers fled from Greece, and after many romantic adventures were cast ashore in Egypt. Their troubles are not yet over. They escape from the Egyptian pirates only to fall into fresh difficulties. In the end they are carried as prisoners of war into Ethiopia, where they are on the point of being sacrificed to the gods of the country, when the sudden discovery of Chariclea's parentage brings all to a happy conclusion.

A striking feature of this book is the knowledge which the writer displays of the topography and of the manners and customs of the different lands to which the travellers come in the course of their wanderings. It would take long to enumerate all the places in Egypt and Ethiopia that are mentioned, the bits of local knowledge that are worked into the story, and the strange sights which attract the attention of the wanderers. When the pirates seize Theagenes and Chariclea they carry them off to a stronghold formed amid the reeds and marshes of the Delta, the description of which recalls the curious account given by Herodotus (v. 16) of a fishing town built on Lake Prasias.<sup>2</sup> The nilometers at Memphis and Syene are noticed, and the dials at Syene, which show no shadow on a certain day in the year when the sun shines straight down upon them. When the scene shifts to Greece the author shows himself equally well acquainted with Attica and Phocis and the Corinthian Gulf. Calasiris, an Egyptian priest, an exile from his native land, and seeking a new home, hears of "a famous city in Greece, called Delphi, sacred to Apollo, abounding in temples, the resort of wise men, retired and free from popular tumults," and determines to go there, thinking that such a place would be a suitable retreat for one of his profession. Approaching by the

<sup>1</sup> This and the following quotations are made from the Rev. Rowland Smith's translation, which is closer to the original than Underdowne.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Rowland Smith conjectures that "perhaps Heliodorus (afterwards a bishop) had derived the materials for his graphic description of their (the pirates') haunts and manners from personal residence among them, as was the case (so Horace Walpole informs us) with Archbishop Blackburne (*temp.* Geo. II.), who in his younger days is said to have been a buccaneer." But Achilles Tatius has a description of another of these marsh strongholds.

Crissaeon Gulf he lands at Cirrha, and goes up to Delphi. He finds it a "city of race-courses, of market-places, and of fountains," of which Castalia is especially mentioned. "The mountain Parnassus hangs over it, as a kind of natural fortification and citadel, stretching out its sides and receiving the city into its bosom." At a later point in the story, when the armed followers of Theagenes make night terrible in Delphi with their shouts and clashing shields, Parnassus "resounds to the clang of their brazen bucklers," a touch with which we may compare the pathetic picture of Chariclea a prisoner in the pirate camp, weeping at night in the silence of the vast morass.<sup>1</sup> When his companions have aided Theagenes to carry off Chariclea they ride away to the hill country of the Locrians and Mount Oeta, while Theagenes and Chariclea escape by sea.

The sea voyage is yet another instance of the local names and knowledge of places that are worked into the story. At day-break the ship is rowed out of the harbour into the Crissaeon gulf. But she soon catches a breeze from the land,<sup>2</sup> and the lovers fly swiftly westward, leaving the headland of Parnassus far behind, and passing in quick succession the Ætolian and Calydonian rocks, and the Oxian isles, "sharp both in name and figure." When the open water is reached, and the ship's course is directed southwards, the mariners soon discern the distant island of Zacynthus, their first landing place, rising like a dim cloud from the evening horizon.

By a turn in the somewhat complicated windings of the story we are brought to Athens, where one incident may be mentioned. Aristippus, suspecting his wife of unfaithfulness, lays a plot to seize her keeping an assignation at a house outside the city. He lies in wait "in the garden where is the monument of the Epicureans," and having seized the unhappy woman he begins to drag her towards the town. But when they come near "the pit which is in the Academy"—"you know the place," the narrator explains, "where our generals sacrifice to the Manes of our heroes"—she breaks suddenly from the hands of the old man, and flings herself into the pit, and is killed.<sup>3</sup>

These are a few examples of the local knowledge which Heliodorus exhibits. They are interesting because they shew that the art of using local knowledge to give verisimilitude to a fictitious narrative was not unknown to the ancients. The contrary has

<sup>1</sup> I doubt if Mr Whibley is just to Heliodorus when he says (p. xii.) that "Underdowne's phrase 'when all was whishte in the marish' is infinitely more expressive than the original Greek: *συγῆς δὲ τὸ ἔλος κατασχούσης.*"

<sup>2</sup> A sea breeze would be more likely than a land breeze at the time named.

<sup>3</sup> See the description in Pausanias (i. 29, 30) of the monuments on the road from Athens to the Academy.

sometimes been asserted. But *the Ethiopica* is one example out of many which might be cited to shew both the existence in ancient times of an accurate knowledge of foreign countries and the use which was sometimes made of such knowledge in literature.<sup>1</sup>

The printer, the papermaker, and the binder have all combined to make this volume an attractive one. It is light to hold, easy to read, pleasant to look at, and it lies open without forcing.

JOHN A. CROSS.

### Notices.

THE second part of the series of Archaeological Studies in Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages, edited by Johannes Fricker, deals with the *altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*.<sup>2</sup> The volume is in the most tasteful form. It contains much interesting matter, carefully arranged. It is made more attractive by a number of admirable plates of choice specimens of the art in question, which are deposited in the museums of Bologna, Strassburg, Amiens, and South Kensington, London.

*The Spirit of Power*<sup>3</sup> is the title given to a small book which will well repay careful reading. It is a study of a subject which is both of doctrinal and of practical importance. The author first exhibits the place which Christ meant this topic to have in the attention of His disciples. He then examines the various passages in the Book of Acts which help us to understand what it is to be filled with the Spirit as a spirit of power. He concludes his brief inquiry with a paragraph of *Caution*, in which he reminds us that it is "vain to think the power is other than a gift of the moment to the faith of the occasion, though it may be held every moment." It is a thoughtful and devout study.

The editor of the *Famous Scots* series was peculiarly happy in his choice of the pen that was to write the sketch of Sir James Y. Simpson. Miss Eve Blantyre Simpson's vivid and fascinating narrative will make a new generation know and love the great and good physician who did so much for suffering humanity and for Christian truth in his own time. The editor has been not less

<sup>1</sup> There is a striking illustration of the habit of underrating the knowledge of the ancients in the *New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, in which (vol. i., p. 237) it is given as a reason for thinking that S. Luke was an Italian, that he remembered the names of three towns through which he passed with S. Paul on his way to Rome:—"We find in the supposition . . . an explanation of the obvious familiarity with Italian topography shewn in his mention of Puteoli, Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns in Acts xxviii. 13-15."

<sup>2</sup> Von Georg Stuhlfauth. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig: Mohr, 1896. 8vo, pp. iv. 211. Price, M.7.

<sup>3</sup> By the Rev. Thomas Adamson, B.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. 85. Price, 1s.

fortunate in securing the services of Dr W. Garden Blaikie for the sketch of *Thomas Chalmers*.<sup>1</sup> No theologian now alive, no minister still spared to us, of all who were associated with Thomas Chalmers, is so well entitled by personal knowledge, theological succession, and varied experience, to speak of the great Scottish preacher, statesman, and divine. And Dr Blaikie has written this sketch as a labour of love, with full command of his theme, with the insight and appreciation which come from perfect sympathy with the ideas and interests to which Chalmers devoted his life, and with a just regard for the best men among those who followed a different policy. After dealing with the facts of his early life, and his school and college days, he gives us a series of five interesting chapters with the titles of *Kilmany, Glasgow, St Andrews University, Edinburgh University, and New College, Edinburgh*. His matter is skilfully arranged around these great landmarks in Chalmers's course. The whole makes a study which will take a distinctive place among the many books, great and small, that have been written on the same fruitful and impressive subject.

The Religious Tract Society have issued a volume on *Christian Men of Science*,<sup>2</sup> consisting of a number of biographies contributed to their New Biographical Series. The sketches are by various hands, and are accompanied by an appropriate introduction from the pen of Dr J. H. Gladstone. The lives dealt with are those of Francis Bacon, Blaise Pascal, Robert Boyle, Sir Isaac Newton, Baron von Haller, Dr John Abercrombie, Sir David Brewster, Adam Sedgwick, Michael Faraday, Sir James Young Simpson, George Wilson, and James Clerk Maxwell. The writers include the Rev. Horace Noel, the Rev. T. H. Leary, Sir John Risdon Bennett, the Rev. G. Wilson, Dr James Macaulay, Mr S. R. Pattison, and Dr S. D. F. Salmond. The volume is one of varied and interesting contents. In respect both of subject and of form it deserves a wide circulation, and is certain to secure it.

We have received a further volume of *The Biblical Illustrator*<sup>3</sup> in which a mass of matter, expository, illustrative, and homiletic, intended to help the preacher, is brought together with much skill from a great variety of sources; a second edition of Mr E. Hampden-Cook's *The Christ has Come*,<sup>4</sup> in which the author, following Dr Stuart Russell, Mr John Humphrey Noyes, and Mr Henry Dunn, endeavours to show that, according to the New Testament and early

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 160. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: R.T.S. Small 4to.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Corinthians. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 542. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 180. Price, 1s. 6d.



Christian belief, Christ's Parousia is an event of the past ; a useful and carefully planned *Handbook of New Greek*<sup>1</sup> by Dr Albert Thumb, Professor extraordinarius in the University of Freiburg, giving Grammar, Texts, and Glossary for the dialect of the people ; a volume on *Modern Palestine, or The Need of a New Crusade*,<sup>2</sup> furnished with good illustrations, giving lively sketches of scenes often visited and often described, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the Dead Sea, etc., and discussing in a sensible way the site of Calvary and other questions of interest ; a couple of fair and sensible dissertations on the religious *Lebenskräfte* of Catholicism and the discipline of the Evangelical Church ;<sup>3</sup> a very readable Lecture on the *Council of Nicaea*, by Carl Albr. Bernoulli.<sup>4</sup> The Sunday School Union continues its *Splendid Lives* series, with two well written and interesting volumes by W. J. Wintle, on *The Story of Victoria, R.I.*,<sup>5</sup> and *The Story of Albert the Good*.<sup>6</sup>

A book like Dr James Rigg's *Comparative View of Church Organisations, Primitive and Protestant*,<sup>7</sup> which has reached its third edition, requires no special commendation. This careful work has deservedly had a large acceptance, and in this new and improved edition it should be still more widely appreciated and used. It makes every effort to do justice to all the different types of ecclesiastical constitution and order. If it is not absolutely exact in every point in its representations of the various organisations (as in the case, *e.g.*, of Presbyterianism), that is not to be wondered at. For in each system there are both a genius and a mass of finer circumstances with which it is almost impossible for any one to be entirely at home, except one who lives within the system. As a painstaking, judicious, fair-minded and instructive exposition and comparison of Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Wesleyan Methodism, Dr Rigg's volume should command the attention and repay the study of many readers. This edition is enriched by historical *resumés*, which exhibit the organic development of Wesleyan Methodism, in the two great matters of

<sup>1</sup> *Handbuch der Neugriechischen Volkssprache*. Strassburg : Trübner ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8vo, pp. xxi. 240. Price, M.6.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. John Lamond, B.D., Skelmorlie. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1896. Post 8vo, pp. 256. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>3</sup> *Eine heilige allgemeine Christliche Kirche*. Zwei Aufsätze von Hans Gallwitz, Superintendent in Sigmaringen. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 69. Price, M.1.20.

<sup>4</sup> Freiburg i. B. : Mohr ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 36, M.0.80.

<sup>5</sup> London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

<sup>6</sup> London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price, 1s.

<sup>7</sup> London : C. H. Kelly, 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 398. Price, 7s. 6d.

the rise and growth of the system of Connexional government by means of District Meetings or Synods, and the history of Circuit development. The story of Methodist Secessions and Methodist Union is given in a supplement. The book, therefore, is a remarkably complete statement of all that belongs specially to the Wesleyan side of the question.

In the useful series known as *Books for Bible Students*, of which the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory is editor, Dr R. A. Watson published some time ago a volume entitled *In the Apostolic Age*. Another volume dealing with the same period is now contributed by Mr W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A., Assistant-Master at the Leys School, Cambridge. The writer, who is the scholarly son of a distinguished father, gives his book the title of *The Old World and the New Faith*,<sup>1</sup> and treats his subject in a fresh and interesting way. The two volumes, while they traverse much of the same territory, and touch each other at certain points, are yet sufficiently distinct. Dr Watson's deals with the Churches and the Doctrine; Mr Moulton's takes up the specific question of "the relations of the Early Church to its environment, both Jewish and Roman." It is neither a professed Commentary on the Book of Acts, nor a systematic statement of Apostolic doctrine. It is a series of notes upon the historical narrative in Acts, as the second title indicates, which carry us interestingly along the broad lines of the historical situation and the things which made that what from time to time it was, from the infancy of the Church in Jerusalem on to Paul's voyage to Rome. It is a work of much promise.

A short Preface by the Dean of Norwich introduces a collection of *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>2</sup> which were delivered in Norwich Cathedral, and are now offered to a larger public. The list of contributors to the series includes Dean Farrar, Professors Gwatkin and Robinson, Drs Chase and Barry, and other competent writers. The Lectures naturally are not all of the same quality, but they are all at least pleasant to read. Professor Gwatkin's study of Eusebius is of special interest. Clement of Alexandria is well handled by Dr Chase, and justice is done to the *Apology of Aristides* by Professor Armitage Robinson. Dr Moule writes appreciatively of Augustine, and Mr Brooke of Origen. We have a good sketch of the *Church in the Catacombs* by Mr Gee. Ignatius and Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Jerome, are the other great names that appear in the series, and in the case of several of these the studies are excellent examples of scholarly statement combined with popular expression.

<sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 228. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Nisbet & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 502. Price, 7s. 6d.

The fourth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> brings us treasures gathered from many quarters, near and far. Professors Ramsay, Sanday, Bruce, George Adam Smith, and Margoliouth, Principal Fairbairn, Messrs Conybeare, Schechter, and other well-known contributors continue to be represented. Professors König and Schürer give valuable help from abroad, and papers come from other scholars who can hold their own in the subjects on which they write. It is needless to go into detail, and it would be invidious to particularise where there is so much of the best quality. It is enough to say that there are various papers in this volume which deserve more than a single perusal.

The *Illustrated Bible Treasury*, issued by Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons, under the able editorship of Dr William Wright,<sup>2</sup> is a marvel of cheapness combined with accuracy, completeness, and attractive form. It claims to give the results of the very latest Biblical researches, and it makes that claim good. The staff of contributors is large, and well selected. In most cases the scholars or travellers to whom the different parts of the work have been committed are recognised authorities. In two or three cases, however, we have names which few would place in the same rank with the others. A new Concordance to the *Authorised* and *Revised Versions* is added. The usefulness of the book is increased by a subject-index and a dictionary of Scripture proper names, an indexed Bible Atlas, and a large number of illustrations. Editor and publishers are both to be congratulated on the completion of a work so rich in varied and useful matter, and so moderate in price as to be within the reach of the most modest means.

An acceptable addition is made to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* by Professor John Laidlaw, of the New College, Edinburgh. His volume has for its title *Foundation Truths of Scripture as to Sin and Salvation*.<sup>3</sup> These truths are expounded in a course of twelve lessons, which are admirable examples of clear and compact statement. Beginning with the Bible teaching on *Sin*, its extent, nature, origin, and issues, Dr Laidlaw next exhibits the main points in the Biblical view of the *Saviour*,—His Person on its human side and on its Divine, and His work of Redemption as an atonement, a reconciliation, a ransom, and a revelation of the love of God. He next proceeds to unfold in the same way the Biblical teaching on *Salvation*, as wrought in us by the Spirit, explaining in this connexion the meaning of regeneration, conversion, repentance, faith, and union

<sup>1</sup> London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and New York, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 724. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 131. Price, 1s. 6d.

with Christ. The last three lessons are devoted to the great questions of *justification*, *adoption*, and *sanctification*. A fresh statement of these great themes, which make the very life of the Christian faith, and are too often apt to be driven into the background by the present preference for purely ethical preaching, is most seasonable. This volume, simple and direct in its style, wholly faithful to the word of Scripture, definite yet unexaggerated in its doctrinal statements and practical in its entire method, makes a model handbook, and deserves to have many readers.

Professor Benjamin B. Warfield of Princeton published in a recent number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* an article on *The Right of Systematic Theology*,<sup>1</sup> which attracted notice by the weight and opportuneness of its statements. The article is now reprinted in book form, with an Introduction by Professor James Orr of Edinburgh, and a Note of Commendation bearing the signatures of a dozen Scotch divines belonging to different Churches. The article deserves the recognition thus given it. It is a deliverance by one who, beyond most men, has a right to be heard on a subject like this. For it is one to which he has given much thought, with which he is in complete sympathy, and on which he can speak with all the advantage of wide knowledge. The prevalent hostility or indifference to doctrinal theology is here traced to its roots; the most notable of the recent attacks on "dogmatic Christianity" are analysed; the meaning of *dogma* and the place assignable to it are carefully defined; and the right and duty of systematic theology are made the subject of a reasoned statement which should carry conviction with it. A vast amount of cogent argument and strong, clear thinking is packed into this small volume.

Professor Paul Schwartzkopff's *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi*<sup>2</sup> has been already noticed in these pages, and the interest of the book has been explained. It now appears in an English version<sup>3</sup> by the hand of the translator of Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*. It will be welcome to many English readers in this new form. The volume is but part of a much larger scheme, and belongs to the end rather than the beginning of that scheme. But it deals with questions of the highest moment, and gives us an idea of the author's interpretation of the Revelation of God in Christ as a whole. In this section, which deals specially with the predictive passages in the Gospels, Dr Schwartzkopff's object is to define what is essential

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 92. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi., p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> The Prophecies of Jesus Christ relating to His Death, Resurrection, and Second Coming, and their Fulfilment. Translated by Rev. Neil Buchanan. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Post 8vo, pp. xi. 328. Price, 5s.

and permanent in our Lord's prophetic utterances on His death, resurrection, and Parousia, and what is to be discounted as belonging simply to form and circumstance. In doing this he proceeds upon the supposition of Christ's moral perfection on the one hand and His limited knowledge on the other. The main criterion by which he tests each prediction is its conformity with these two things. This is so used as to yield results which are on the whole conservative. What is lacking in the book is a more thorough and scientific examination of the sayings of our Lord by the processes of historical and grammatical exegesis. These are much too subordinate to the psychological ideas and the doctrinal views of Christ's humanity with which the writer starts. The volume, however, deserves careful attention, dealing as it does in a serious and penetrating way with questions which lie at the foundation of all reasonable trust in the truth of the revelation given us by Christ.

Two books come to us from the active pen of the Rev. James Lindsay of Kilmarnock. One is a short treatise on *The Significance of the Old Testament for Modern Theology*.<sup>1</sup> This was originally a paper prepared for the Glasgow Oriental Society. It is now published in compliance with a wish expressed by those who heard it read. It is an interesting and well-informed, though somewhat discursive, statement of its subject. Its broad conclusion is that the absoluteness of the Christian religion can be understood only in its relations to the progressive revelation of the Old Testament, and that the "end" in short is the test of the "means," the vindication of this progressive revelation—its "justification, indeed amid those limitations and difficulties of revelation that remain." The other volume, by the same industrious hand, is entitled *Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion*.<sup>2</sup> It deals with a very different subject, and is constructed on a much larger scale. It is intended to follow out the line of argument which was pursued in the author's earlier work on *The Progressiveness of Modern Christian Thought*. It "contends for the progressiveness of theism in particular, and seeks more especially to prove the actual progressiveness of recent theistic thought." The matter is arranged in three great divisions—Recent Philosophy of Natural Theology, Recent Philosophy of Theism (God), and Recent Philosophy of Religion (Man). A more scientific distribution of the topics would have been an advantage in many ways, and not least in giving the sense of unity which is lacking in the large and multifarious contents of the book.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. lvi. 547. Price, 12s. 6d. net.



The sweep of Mr Lindsay's argument indeed is immense. There is scarcely a subject in any way relevant to such an inquiry as he conducts that is not brought somehow within the scope of his exposition. The great questions touching personality, freedom, reason, the reign of law, man's nature, the purpose of history, the hope of immortality, and other cognate subjects, all come under review, and on such the opinions of representative thinkers are given and criticised. The outstanding characteristics of the book are its candour, its liberal spirit, its modern-mindedness, its sympathy with all genuine advance in the conception and expression of the fundamental truths of religion, and above all, its learning. The extent of reading revealed by the book is enormous. Here is the secret at once of the worth and of the weakness of the book. Mr Lindsay's pages make a kind of panorama of opinions. Quotations from all manner of authorities, or references to them, confront us at every turn. These are, generally speaking, not only pertinent to the matter in hand, but well chosen and informing. But we have too much of them, and feel almost lost in the whirl of them. We should have been glad to get more of the author himself. As it is we miss the impact that an argument like his should carry with it, and are left with a sense of the vague and inchoate.

While this must be said of the book generally, it would be unjust to deny it the praise that is due to a painstaking and, in many respects, meritorious performance. It contains much excellent matter, and gives the promise of still better and maturer work. It shows large acquaintance with the best thought of the time, extended and laborious study, an earnest desire to get at the fundamental realities and to be helpful to other minds.

Some parts of the argument are of particular interest, and are marked by particular ability. This holds good, for example, of the discussion of the various theistic proofs. Mr Lindsay's appreciation of the tenor of current thought and his grasp of the quick of the present situation are seen in the importance which he claims for the whole question of personality, both human and Divine. To this he gives a large place in his argument, and on this he says much that is just and to the purpose.

We are glad to notice the seventh thousand of Professor George Adam Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*.<sup>1</sup> It is superfluous to speak of the merits of a book which made its way at once into public favour by its engaging style and the value of its contents. It is enough to say that, in this new edition, its attractiveness and usefulness are increased by a careful revision through-

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 713. Price, 15s.

out, as well as by the addition of a number of important notes and an index of Scripture references. These new notes chronicle all of interest that has taken place of late in the literature of the subject, the condition of the Holy Land, and the researches and discoveries of travellers. Special attention is directed to what is said of Aphek, and to the account given by Dr Bailey, late of Nablûs, of the virtues of the water of Jacob's Well. The book is indispensable to the Biblical student. In general charm it is the worthiest successor to Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine." It has deservedly taken rank as one of the most notable recent successes of Scotch scholarship, and one of the best recent products of the literary faculty of Scottish theologians.

We owe much to Mr Charles for his translations of *The Book of Enoch* and *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and for his edition of the *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*. He has added to our obligations by the publication of a most scholarly edition and translation of *The Apocalypse of Baruch*.<sup>1</sup> The interest of this Apocalypse is great. It lies in its historical position, the peculiarity of some of its doctrines, and the insight which it gives into the Jewish ideas current in the first Christian century. Among other things it speaks to the Jewish belief that death came by Adam's sin. It reflects the Jewish doctrines of merit, salvation by works, the heavenly Jerusalem, the bodily resurrection. It reveals also the Jewish animus against Christianity. It is placed by most authorities between 50 A.D. and 100 A.D. Mr Charles holds it to be composite, part of it being earlier and part later than the destruction of Jerusalem. He contends strongly for a Hebrew original, not a Greek. His arguments on this subject are drawn chiefly from the form of the quotations from the Old Testament; the presence of Hebrew idioms in the Syriac text; the considerable number of cases in which unintelligible Syriac expressions admit of being translated back into intelligible Hebrew; the evidence of Rabbinic writings; and especially the many *paronomasiae* which may be plausibly made out. These arguments are presented in a very convincing way. Both the original Hebrew and the Greek version being for the most part lost, it is a fortunate circumstance that we have the Syriac almost complete in the sixth century MS., which was discovered by Ceriani of Milan. It is this Syriac text that Mr Charles translates, correcting it now and again by the Hebrew which is understood to underlie it. Nothing has been spared to make this

<sup>1</sup> The Apocalypse of Baruch. Translated from the Syriac, and edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxxiv. 176. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

edition and translation as satisfactory as existing materials permit. The book is in all respects worthy of Mr Charles's name and previous achievements.

We have great pleasure in referring to the publication of the new edition of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*,<sup>1</sup> which forms a section of the well-known *Sammlung Theologischer Jahrbücher*. The first six *Lieferungen* have come to hand. These contain, in addition to a brief introduction, the expositions of the religions of the Naturvölker, the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Semitic races, including the faith of Israel down to the period of the Deuteronomic law. The book is described as a second and completely revised edition. In point of fact, however, it is much more than that. It is a new work executed on a new plan. Each of the great religions is now committed to a specialist, while the unity of the history is secured by the controlling hand of the editor. The list of Professor de la Saussaye's collaborateurs includes the names of Dr E. Buckley of Chicago, Dr H. O. Lange of Copenhagen, Dr F. Jeremias of Leipzig, Dr J. J. P. Valetton, junr., of Utrecht, Dr M. Th. Houtsma of Utrecht, and Dr E. Lehmann of Copenhagen. The undertaking is one of the greatest importance. We shall have to notice it more fully as its several sections are completed. It is enough to say at present that it is likely to be the best and handiest handbook on these subjects.

We have also to notice a discreet and pleasantly-written pamphlet by the Master of Balliol on *Individualism and Socialism*; <sup>2</sup> a cheap edition of a series of telling, thoughtful, and stimulating *Sermons on Social Subjects*,<sup>3</sup> originally delivered as a Lenten course in 1894 by Canon Scott Holland, Dean Farrar and others, with a preface by the Bishop of Durham; an anonymous brochure on *Some Disputed Points of Interpretation relating to the Prophecies recorded in the Book of Daniel and of the Last Days*,<sup>4</sup> written on the principle that the "visions given to Nebuchadnezzar the King and Daniel the Prophet are parts of a grand system of type and prophecy" regarding the time of Christ; a volume which has now a pathetic interest, *Archbishop Benson in Ireland*,<sup>5</sup> giving a very pleasing view of a man of genial and courteous nature and good capacity, who occupied a conspicuous

<sup>1</sup> Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896, 1897. 8vo, pp. 288. Price per *Lieferung*, M.1.

<sup>2</sup> By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1897. 8vo, pp. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Lombard Street in Lent. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 206. Price, 2s.

<sup>4</sup> London: Nisbet & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s.

<sup>5</sup> A Record of his Irish Sermons and Addresses, 1896. Edited by J. H. Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 119. Price, 3s 6d.

and onerous position with great faithfulness ; a second edition of Professor Willibald Beyschlag's *Die Paulinische Theodicee*,<sup>1</sup> an acute and suggestive discussion of the great paragraph extending over Romans ix.-xi., in which the author finds first an indication of the Divine will in its freedom (c. ix.), then a demonstration of the identity of that will with the moral law of history in the case of the hardening of Israel and the acceptance of the Gentiles (c. x.), and finally an exposition of the consistency and triumph of the Divine plan in the discipline of the hardened and the leading of all, though in different ways and by the use of dissimilar means, to grace and blessedness ; a second edition also, revised and enlarged of Professor R. F. Weidner's *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*,<sup>2</sup> a reliable, succinct, and useful compendium, embodying the main particulars of Ehlert's *Theology of the Old Testament*, the compiler himself, however, adopting an attitude of pronounced antagonism to the "new theories, or so-called discoveries, emerging from the fertile minds of our negative Old Testament critics," as he expresses it ; a reprint (from the copyright edition of 1875) of two lectures *On the Millennium*,<sup>3</sup> by the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Christopher Wordsworth, in which the Millenarian doctrine is shown to be repugnant both to Scripture, taken as a whole, and to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse being interpreted as a summary of the whole book ; *Our Christian Year*,<sup>4</sup> a series of lessons on the teaching of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels of the Christian year, well adapted to the needs of teachers and senior scholars ; a volume on *How to Preach with Power*,<sup>5</sup> which has the recommendation of speaking in a sensible and helpful way, both of the sermon itself and of the spiritual, intellectual, and physical sources of power in the pulpit ; and a handy reprint of Tischendorf's well-known and telling answer to the question, *When were our Gospels Written?*<sup>6</sup>

A new and important addition is made to the number of our theological journals by the enterprise of those connected with the University of Chicago. *The American Journal of Theology*<sup>7</sup> is a

<sup>1</sup> Halle : Strien ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 85. M.1.50.

<sup>2</sup> New York and Chicago : Revell & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 351. Price, D.1.50.

<sup>3</sup> London : Elliot Stock, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 70.

<sup>4</sup> By a Teacher. London : Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 346. Price, 5s.

<sup>5</sup> By the Rev. William Henry Young, Ph.D., sometime Professor of Homiletics, etc., in Acadia University, Nova Scotia. London : Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 319. Price, 6s.

<sup>6</sup> London : R.T.C. (Present-day Primers), 1896. 8vo, pp. 95. Price, 1s.

<sup>7</sup> Number 1, January 1897. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press ; London : Luzac & Co. Pp. 288. Price, 3 dollars a year ; single numbers, 75 cents.

quarterly magazine, projected with the view of occupying the "entire range of theological study." It is to deal with all kinds of theological questions, and to be open to every school of theological opinion. It is to aim at keeping a due balance between the different departments, and is to furnish discussions which will be strictly scientific, and yet easily intelligible to thoughtful readers generally, as well as to scholars. Its opening number contains an inviting array of papers, most of them of marked ability, and all dealing with subjects of great interest. The place of honour is given to an article on *Theological Agnosticism*, by Professor A. B. Bruce, written with his usual power and pungency. Professor Sanday, of Oxford, contributes a very careful appreciation of the late Dr Hort, in which he claims for him the first place, in respect at least of *quality* of work, among the English theologians of the present century. Dr Briggs, of New York, contributes an important paper on *The Scope of Theology and its Place in the University*. Other scholarly communications come from Professors Allan Menzies and Caspar René Gregory, the latter furnishing an estimate of Bernhard Weiss's work on the New Testament. We have also a series of valuable critical notes, and a considerable list of reviews of books by different hands. We give a cordial welcome to the journal. If it fulfils the promise of the first number, it will be of great use. It takes possession of a field that has need to be occupied.

The second number of this year's issue of the ably conducted *Revue Bibliographique* contains a table of the books published in Belgium in 1896, representing the work of a very large number of authors. There is also a register of the summaries of periodical literature, which are numerous and of distinct service. A large amount of space, too, is given to books and journals published outside Belgium. The Société belge de Librairie (Bruxelles), to which we owe this useful magazine, also issues the *Revue Sociale Catholique*.

The tenth number of the *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst* (January 1897) is a particularly interesting number. Among other articles which will be read with attention, we may refer to one by Dr G. Burkhardt, director of missions in Herrnhut, on the celebration of the Lord's Supper among the Moravians, and another by Professor Voigt, of Königsberg, on the Sistine Madonna of Raphael.

Among other important articles which have appeared in recent numbers of various theological periodicals, we refer in particular to these:—The series contributed by Principal Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, to the *Expositor*, in which he seeks to define *Christ's own Attitude to His Death*; the communications by various hands in the January number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* on "The Mission of Judaism," the paper in the same number in which Mr C. G.



Montefiore gives a friendly statement of the mutual relations of Unitarianism and Judaism; and Professor Büchler's investigation of the *Sources of Josephus for the History of Syria*, in which he reaches the result that Josephus had "borrowed the whole material of the first seventeen books of his *Antiquities* from Nicholas of Damascus, except those data which were taken from the Bible, the letter of Aristaeas, the first book of the Maccabees, and some other source that dealt with the high priests"; some contributions to the Pentateuchal Problem by Professor Klostermann of Kiel, in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (viii. 1 and 3); and three studies of Melancthon in the same journal (viii. 2) by Professors Lezius of Greifswald, Seeberg of Erlangen, and Blass of Halle—an interesting series giving not only a general characterisation of the Reformer, but an instructive estimate of his place in the history of Dogma and Dogmatics, and his rank as a humanist and a teacher.

Special mention should also be made of Professor Gwatkin's criticism of Professor Harnack, in his short but instructive paper on *Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel* in the *Contemporary Review* for February; of Professor W. M. Ramsay's paper on *Pauline Chronology* in the *Expositor* for March; of Professor C. Clemen's article on the order of the Pastoral Epistles in the *Studien und Kritiken* (1897, 2); and of an able paper by Professor B. B. Warfield on *Christian Supernaturalism* in the January issue of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, in which it is shown that the recognition of the Divine immanence does not mean for the Christian man any "limitation of God in being or activity."

In the January issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* the place of honour is given to a paper by Principal D. W. Simon on *Evolution and the Fall of Man*. It is an extremely acute paper, which deserves attention. Its object is to show that the question really at issue is why the products of the evolutionary process, "the innumerable forms of animal life evolved prior to man," were marked by "characteristics which are not only lacking to the latest and highest product of the same process, but have actually been supplanted by others;" and to bring out the fact that there are only two possible answers. We must reply either that "the process itself must surely have undergone a marked change at the moment of reaching its culminating stage, or else that a disturbing element must then have been introduced into the life of the world, infinitely more disastrous in its consequences to the newly evolved species than the competition for food and mates, or the untoward action of physical forces, ever was to the long series of species that arose during the hundreds of thousands of years which are supposed to have preceded the appearance of man."

From his earliest youth Dean Church had the pen of a ready

writer. He was one of those favourites of the race who seem to be born not only with the literary faculty and the gift of style, but with the instinct of cultivating those rare endowments of nature. He had an exacting sense of what writing should be, but he was also an indefatigable producer. Besides the larger efforts which cost him years of toil, and by which he won in more than one department of English letters a high and honourable name, he was a frequent, we might say a constant, contributor to the daily and weekly organs of opinion, especially the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Guardian*. His articles and reviews in the last named journal alone are stated to have amounted to more than a thousand. That gives us some idea of his vast industry, his versatility, and the immense mass of work of an occasional kind that came from his hand. And it was work of a very finished order. Nothing slovenly, ill thought out, or poorly expressed, could pass muster with one of so fine a taste, so penetrating a discernment, so rigorous an idea of what was due to the public.

Dean Church left behind him, therefore, a multitude of papers which were too valuable to remain unused. The quantity was so large that the task of selection became a great difficulty. It has been discharged, however, with a good sense that does not always accompany filial feeling. These two volumes of *Occasional Papers*<sup>1</sup> include little that we should like to miss. There are some papers, indeed, which we almost regret to find in them—papers on certain ecclesiastical questions which are now of small importance in the judgment of most men, and in which the Dean appears less fair-minded and free of prejudice than he usually was. These, however, are not many, and they are more than balanced by others in which his catholic spirit and his historical conscience assert themselves. The opening paper, on Carlyle's Cromwell, is unfortunately among the least appreciative. But those on Morison's St Bernard, Fénelon's Mysticism, Lamennais, Ecce Homo, Cardinal Newman, to name but a few, are in most respects excellent bits of work, all the more so when one remembers the circumstances in which they were written. The volumes make delightful reading, and enlarge one's ideas of the late Dean's fertility of resource, general saneness of judgment, keenness of intellect, and gracious spirit. Even the earliest of them have much of the charm of style for which he became so widely known and justly admired.

*The Theology of Modern Fiction*<sup>2</sup> is not a very usual subject

<sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 416 and 492. Price 5s. each.

<sup>2</sup> Being the twenty-sixth Fernley Lecture, delivered in Liverpool, July 1896, by T. G. Selby. London: C. H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. iv. 192. Price, 3s.

for a foundation like the Fernley Lecture. On reflection, however, we must admit it to be neither unprofitable nor inopportune, and it has been very well handled by the lecturer of last year. The writers who are reviewed by Mr Selby are George Eliot, Nathanael Hawthorne, Thomas Hardy, George Macdonald and the Scottish School, and Mark Rutherford. This is a limited list of names. The reasons for singling out these five and omitting others are not very obvious. We miss not only Thackeray, Dickens, and Kingsley, but George Meredith, Mrs Humphry Ward, Mrs Oliphant, Mr Shorthouse, and others who might be expected to be included, and whose writings might seem at least as congruous with the lecturer's particular object. Be this as it may, Mr Selby writes to purpose of the novelists whom he has preferred for his present purpose. He gives careful analyses (in some cases indeed tending to err on the side of over detail) of their chief works, passes them through a frank, fair, and intelligent criticism, and brings out the main lines of their teaching. It is in this last that the strength of the book lies,—in its clear and forcible presentation of the moral message or tendency of these representative writers of current fiction on the great subjects of retribution, the ripening of character, the inward punishment of sin, the demand for mediation, the action of motives, and the like. On these things Mr Selby says much that is of weight, and says it in the aptest terms.

The volume of *Village Sermons*<sup>1</sup> by the late Dr Hort is a remarkable witness to his strenuous sense of duty. We know from his *Life* how difficult he felt it to be all that he knew a pastor ought to be to a humble, village flock. These sermons show us something of the pains he was at to fit himself for the work of an obscure, rural pulpit. They let us see how the great scholar, who lived so largely and wrote so habitually in the region of the abstract and the learned, could accommodate himself to circumstances demanding the utmost simplicity of expression. They deal with great themes, the anointing of the spirit, temptation, and the like. They expound these in terms level to any mind, yet full of large meaning and showing something of the heart of these profound subjects. A discourse of special beauty and value is one on Peter's idea of "the lively hope." There is a series of twelve, too, on the books of the Bible, which must have cost the writer no small labour and brought his rustic hearers a new understanding of the purpose and the unity of Scripture.

Under the title of *The More Abundant Life*<sup>2</sup> we have a series of

<sup>1</sup> London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 269. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> By W. M. L. Jay. London : Macmillan & Co., 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 244. Price, 6s.

Lenten Readings from the pen of the late Bishop Phillips Brooks. They are taken chiefly from his unpublished manuscripts, and they have the fine qualities, the tenderness, the sympathy, the insight into life, the spiritual feeling which appear in all the writings of the great American preacher. They will be reckoned among the treasures of many devout souls.

We are glad to get from the same lamented hand another series, the eighth, of *Sermons*.<sup>1</sup> The volume includes discourses that will rank with Phillips Brooks's best, those, for example, on *The Little Sanctuaries of Life, Storm and Calm, The Sacredness of Life, and The Secret of the Lord*. One or two touch certain deep notes in our Lord's Parable. Most are on New Testament subjects. There are nine, however, on Old Testament themes, Elisha's prayer and vision, the heavenly wisdom, etc. It is a choice collection, worthy of the preacher's name.

### Record of Select Literature.

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- ZENNER, J. K. Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen. Ihre Existenz u. ihre Form, nachgewiesen v. Z. 2. Thle. 1. Prolegomena, Uebersetzungen u. Erläuterungen. Mit 1. Titelbild: Die Sängerriegen des ersten Tempels nach Kosmas Indicopleustes. (Cod. Vat. Graec. 699.) Freiburg i/B.: Herder. Lex.-8. pp. vii. 92. 2. Texte, pp. v. 71. M.10.
- Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce G. N. du Rieu. Tom. 1. Vetus Testamentum Graece. Codices Sarraviani-Colbertini qui supersunt in Bibliothecis Leidensi, Parisiensi, Petropolitana, phototypice editi. Praefatus est H. Omont. Leiden: Sifhoff. 8vo, pp. xii. 306. M.160.
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<sup>1</sup> New Starts in Life and Other Sermons. By the late Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. v. 356. Price, 6s.

- JACOB, G. *Altarabische Parallelen zum alten Testament.* (Studien in Arab. Dichtern, IV.) Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 8vo, pp. 25. M.1.
- CORNILL, Prof. C. H. *The Prophets of Israel.* (The Religion of Science Library.) Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 194. 25 cents.
- COBLENZ, Dr Felix. *Ueber das betende Ich in den Psalmen.* Frankfurt a/M.: Kauffmann. 8vo, pp. vi. 191.
- VOLZ, Paul. *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. viii. 93. M.2.80.
- KITTEL, R. *Die Anfänge der Hebräischen Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Testament.* Leipz.: Hirzel. 8vo, pp. 26. M.0.60.
- KEEL, L. *Sirach. Das Buch v. der Weisheit, verfasst von Jesus, dem Sohne Sirach's erklärt f. das christliche Volk.* Kempten: Kösel. 8vo, pp. iv. 373. M.4.
- GAUCHER, E.-M. *Essai sur les six jours de la création.* Paris: 40 Rue La Fontaine. 18mo, pp. xxx. 120. F.2.
- SMITH, Prof. G. Adam. *Four Psalms, 23, 36, 52, 121. Interpreted for Practical Use.* London: Hodder & Stoughton. Long 12mo, pp. 140. 1s. 6d.
- The Book of Judges in Greek, according to the Text of the Codex Alexandrinus.* Edited by A. E. Brooke and N. M'Lean. Cambridge: University Press. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- WEBER, F. W. *Kurzgefasste Einleitung in die Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes.* Zehnte neubearbeitete Auflage, hrsg. von M. Deinzer und J. Deinzer. München: Beck. 8vo, pp. viii. 421.
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- COWLEY, A. E., and Neubauer, A. *Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus (xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11), together with the Early Versions and an English Translation, &c.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4to. 10s. 6d. net.
- The Pulpit Commentary.* Edited by H. D. M. Spence and Joseph H. Exell. *Genesis.* Introductions by F. W. Farrar, &c. New edit. London: Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. 644. 6s.

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### S. Mark's Indebtedness to S. Matthew.

By F. P. Badham, M.A. London: T Fisher Unwin, 1897.

Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 132. Price, 3s. 6d.

MR BADHAM, while still *in statu pupillari*, at Oxford, published "The Formation of the Gospels," which professed to solve the Synoptic problem. The key, he assured us, fitted the lock. If we would not use it, we must remain outside.

The solution which was then offered us was as follows:—There were two Jewish Gospels, A and B, which were speedily combined into AB. S. Mark and S. Luke copied these documents (without discovering that AB was a mere combination of A and B?). S. Mark's was the earliest written Gospel. A fourth document, called "The Preaching of Peter" (P), was used by S. Luke. Finally, S. Matthew's Gospel is AB + parts of P.

S. Mark, however, wrote, not our second Gospel (as I have stated for convenience above, and, following Mr Badham's example, shall continue to do throughout this article), but "The Preaching of Peter," the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. The only Petrine part of our second Gospel was the last twelve verses (Mark xvi. 9-20)!

This complex scheme was held to be proved by the alleged existence in our Gospels of doublets and inconsistencies, yet, strange to say, it presented us with the most intolerable doublet or inconsistency of all, for the same document P contained two separate accounts of the journey to Emmaus, viz., Mark xvi. 12, and Luke xxiv. 13-35, *minus* 34.

Six years have passed, and Mr Badham, who now professes himself a pupil of Hilgenfeld, produces another book in which he essays to prove in the teeth of his former assertions that S. Matthew's Gospel was written first, and that S. Mark's was, generally speaking, an abbreviation thereof.

Unfortunately he does not, like Stesichorus, begin with the palinode—

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,

or, like an Act of Parliament, state precisely how much of previous Acts is rescinded. It is clear from his sixteenth chapter that he has not renounced the whole of his scheme, but there are considerable modifications of it. For, in the "Formation," S. Mark is a dull copyist, with little original matter; in the "Indebtedness"



he is an artist, who develops a picture from S. Matthew's sketch. Must we, like one of Mr Badham's Evangelists, combine the two books together? And what a heap of doublets and inconsistencies might we not produce in the attempt! Or may we conclude, as he now does, with a thankful *Requiescat*, applied, however, to each and all of A, B, AB, and P?

There is nothing absurd in the contention that S. Matthew wrote first and S. Mark abbreviated him. Such has been the belief of the great majority of Christians from S. Augustine to Keim. It was not the opinion of the Early Church from Papias onwards, nor is it generally accepted now; but Mr Badham wishes to bring us back to S. Augustine's opinion, and it is well for us to consider what he has to say.

He possesses, I think, the advantages and disadvantages of what I may call—without meaning anything offensive—microscopic eyesight. He sees ambiguities, glosses, inflations, and inaccuracies which, to a man with normal vision, are often nothing of the kind. His argument rests upon them, and he fails to take a wider view.

For example, certain sections of S. Matthew—notably chapters viii., ix., xiv. 1-12—present a very much shorter recension of the narrative than is found in the other Gospels. But many parts of S. Matthew are only slightly shorter than S. Mark, while not a few are even longer, and contain the very glosses and inflations which are held to be proofs of S. Mark's posteriority. There is no attempt made to explain this difference.

Again, it has been generally allowed that S. Mark wrote for Gentile readers, S. Matthew for Jews. It would be more consonant with modern ideas to say that S. Matthew's Gospel had gradually grown up in a Jewish community, where it had gathered to itself a large number of Judaic elements, such as allusions to the Law, and fulfilments of prophecy. S. Mark, though he was originally taught the Gospel in Jerusalem, had lived for many years in Pauline Churches, and had learned to provide for Gentile congregations. He may, therefore, have allowed a few things to drop which had only attraction for Jews, and he inserted certain explanations of Semitic customs. Concede this, and you have replied to Mr Badham's chapter on "The un-Judaic character of S. Mark."

Ancient historians claimed the privilege—which is now only conceded to novelists—of knowing the secret motives and private conversations of their heroes. Probably some of the speeches in the Gospels give rather what the occasion demanded than what was actually said. These were literary usages which imposed upon no one. Hence there is no call for the remarks on page 39 about Herodias and her daughter.

Mr Badham's Evangelists are the slaves of a very few documents, but he now allows them the pleasure of an occasional gossip with their contemporaries, which assisted their imagination, but could not add to their knowledge. Has he never heard of the large and energetic Church of Jerusalem, which still "compassed sea and land to make one proselyte"? Did not its emissaries penetrate to Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, and other centres of thought? Did not its preachers and teachers follow in the footsteps of S. Paul, and supply the wants of his newly-founded churches, sometimes leavening his teaching? And were there not scores of Christians in Jerusalem who had seen our Lord, heard Him converse, and had been witnesses of the crucifixion? Could not they confirm or add to S. Peter's recollections? Could not they fill in his outline sketches, explaining many an ambiguity, and often supplying a motive? The Tübingen leaders placed the birth of our Gospels in the second century. It seems unreasonable to admit that S. Matthew and S. Mark wrote soon after 70 A.D., and yet to surround them with the same atmosphere of ignorance. "These things were not done in a corner."

Mr Badham never takes into consideration the question whether the oral hypothesis may not be the true key to the Synoptic problem. And this is to be regretted, because under that hypothesis most of the difficulties which trouble him disappear. For example, the cumbrous array of primitive documents—supposed to have been scattered broadcast over the Churches, and yet to have perished in spite of their priceless value, and left not a trace behind—vanish into thin air. Again, Mr Badham's chief purpose is to crush out of their phantom existence, by argument and ridicule, those pets of the critics, *Ur-Marcus* and *Ur-Matthäus*. In oral tradition we seldom use these terms; but, in spite of what Mr Badham has put forth, I fear that most of those who have studied the question will agree with me that they are indispensable under any theory of documents.

If S. Mark in any passage is opposed to both the other Gospels, it is perfectly open to me, as a supporter of the oral hypothesis, to assume that he has consciously or unconsciously departed from his original wording. If he has four sections which they have not, I infer that these were the latest additions to his Gospel. That they should, in taking their places there, thrust out a few verses which once were there, is highly probable; and so Mr Badham's fifth chapter becomes unnecessary. If many of S. Mark's picturesque descriptions are curtailed in both the other Gospels, the reason may be that whatever is not requisite to make sense, is liable to be riddled out in oral teaching. At the same time, I am free to admit that some of them are later accretions, and so I deal with chapter iv.

If S. Luke omits thirty-five of S. Mark's sections, I can point out that S. Mark's oral teaching was carried westwards about 47 A.D., before the said sections were incorporated into it. If he gives us sixteen scraps out of the omitted sections, I reply that the scraps were sent to him by his correspondents. Thus we secure all the advantages of an oral Ur-Marcus, which is a very elastic thing, without the inextricable perplexities of a documentary one, which is a rigid thing.

If S. Mark contains few of the narratives which appear to come to us from non-Petrine sources, it is because he buried himself in Cyprus, out of reach of progressive activities. If S. Matthew is rich in such new matter, it is because his oral Gospel continued to move, perhaps, ten years longer in Jerusalem, before it was taken to its final *habitat* (Alexandria?). During those ten years it must have been so amplified, corrected, and polished, that the chapter on S. Mark's abruptness is not required.

S. Luke, besides keeping up communications with Jerusalem by letter and visitors, resided in Palestine for two years during S. Paul's imprisonment, and doubtless used his opportunity to collect new materials. Under the oral hypothesis we can explain his order, his additions, and—most difficult of all—his omissions. We can do so without the slightest demand on the reader's credulity, and without making any of the Evangelists a literary monster.

In contrast to all this, Mr Badham accounts for the omissions as excisions! And the only reason for them offered is that a Gospel must be kept within certain limits. Perhaps so; but why should not the Gospels be twice as long as they are? S. Mark's, at any rate, might be doubled with every advantage. The difficulty about S. Luke's order, Mr Badham does not seem to have felt. But he does not often consider the points which make against him. For example, he dwells on the abruptness produced by the omission from Mark xiv. 65, of the question, "Who is he that smote thee?" but he does not tell us how these words, on his own principle, found their way into S. Luke.

It is desirable that a critic of the Gospels should work upon the Greek text, and in a good edition. Mr Badham appears to work on the English Revised Version, and, when he refers to the Greek, to use the *textus receptus*, not even in Scrivener's edition. How else can we account for *κράββατος* instead of *κράβαττος*? The latter form is accepted by all modern editors, and is rendered necessary by the line in the *Moretum*—

"Membra levat sensim vili demissa grabato."

How else account for *ἐνθῆς* instead of *ἐνθύς*? How else does

he accuse S. Mark of the redundancy, "them that trust in riches?" Even the Revisers in their margin condemn this reading. Ταλιθά, κούμι is not correct in Mark v. 41, but ταλειθά κούμ. For κούμει is the Hebrew form; in Syriac the final consonant is written but not vocalised, because it was not usually pronounced. Ἐφφαθά, by the way, is not Aramaic.

Attention to Greek syntax is still more desirable in those who would lead others, and what shall we say of the assertion that εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιίδα(ν) might mean "to the opposite side from Bethsaida?" To which is appended the note, "Βηθσαιίδαν may just as well be a genitive as an accusative. Cf. οὐαί σοι Βηθσαιίδαν, Matt. xi. 21; similarly Ⲭ, E, Luke x. 13. Although it is more natural to take Βηθσαιίδαν in Mark vi. 45 as an accusative, it must be remembered that S. Luke may have been influenced by the fact above noticed, that this interpretation is difficult to reconcile with verse 53." In the Greek Testament, πρὸς with the genitive, occurs once, and then not in a local sense; πρὸς with the accusative, occurs about seven hundred times. I do not believe that any Greek author in any age could have used πρὸς with the proper name of a place in the genitive, to mean simply "from." Liddell and Scott quote Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1037, but that is a false reading. Granted, therefore, that Βηθσαιίδαν is not necessarily an accusative, but a curious collateral indeclinable form of Βηθσαιίδα—Dr Hort compared it with Γολγοθάν—I confidently assert that no native Greek could have understood by it "from Bethsaida." What would be the use of language if "to London" could occasionally mean "from London"?

Again, in Mark iii. 21 the various reading ἐξίσταται αὐτοῦς cannot be primitive, because no writer in the first century would have put it for ἐξίστησιν αὐτοῦς. The LXX. are never guilty of such a mistake. As a matter of fact, however, Cod. D. does not read ἐξίσταται, but ἐξέσταται, a mere blunder, which points, however, to ἐξέστη. The Greek of Cod. D. in this passage, as in many others, has been altered to correspond to the Latin, and the double error in syntax and in accident detects the change. Mr Badham's alternative suggestion that if ἐξέστη be read, perhaps ὄχλος is the subject to it, makes one ask with surprise, Do you think so?

I have not space here to work through the whole of Mr Badham's objections. Many of them are very well known of old. Many of them appear to me forced, exaggerated, inapplicable, or capable of being used to prove the opposite. The cumulative effect is not what he would wish it to be.

The strongest reason for upholding the priority of S. Mark is

the difficulty of believing that any Christian, in writing a Gospel, would deliberately strike out of it what has always been dearest to the hearts of his brethren. Put S. Mark first, and he is invaluable; put him anywhere else, and he is inexplicable. What sort of Christians would desire to purchase brevity by the excision of the story of our Lord's birth, the Sermon on the Mount, the account of the Son of Man in glory (Matt. xxv.), with the longer parables and much discourse matter? The very fact of S. Mark's comparative unpopularity is a decisive answer.

To come to details, I find it hard to believe that if S. Mark had had S. Matthew's *ἐκατόνταρχος* before him, he would have changed it into the Latin *κεντυρίων*; harder to believe that he altered S. Matthew's *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* into the Aramaic *τοῖς νιοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, which misleads some of his readers to this day (Mark iii. 28 = Matt. xii. 31); impossible to believe that he habitually altered S. Matthew's smoother and more polished sentences into the rugged, uncouth, Semitic, co-ordinations, with hardly any other conjunction than "and." In fact, that monotonous monosyllable does more than outweigh what Mr Badham has put into the opposite scale.

If S. Mark started with a small nucleus of oral teaching, and slowly expanded it as his master supplied new class-lessons, we should inevitably find some of those connexions which Mr Badham thinks awkward, abrupt, and inconsequent. But is not this exactly what Papias says about S. Mark? What right has any one to transfer the words of Papias to some other document, and then to condemn S. Mark as secondary, for the very reasons which most surely establish his priority?

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

### **The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England explained, with an Introduction.**

*By Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, and Prebendary of Wells; sometime Principal of Wells Theological College. In two volumes, 1896 and 1897. London: Methuen & Co. Demy 8vo, pp. 801. Price, 15s.*

ONE of the first things which strike the reader of this work is its excellent form. The paper is good, the print is very clear, and the plan of picking out the salient points in each paragraph, by presenting them in heavy black type of a most self-asserting character, is admirable. As one turns over the pages the main topics of the various sections are evident at a glance. Moreover, each of the two volumes (which were published separately, with an interval of



some months between their respective appearances) is furnished with an index. Closer acquaintance with the work reveals good qualities of a more important kind. The book is written in a clear, readable style, which carries one along over discussions that sometimes can hardly be otherwise than dry, and in a candid tone, which ought not to offend even those who dissent most frequently and decidedly from the conclusions reached. These conclusions are always clearly stated. Whether one agrees with him or not (and there are perhaps no two persons, even among the Anglican clergy, who would agree about all the points which are touched in the *Thirty-nine Articles*), Dr Gibson seldom, if ever, leaves us in doubt as to his own view.

The book is no doubt the outcome of years of lecturing on the subject in the Theological College at Wells; and long experience has shown the writer what topics need to be elucidated with fulness, and what may be passed over more lightly. A reviewer who has not had this experience is at a disadvantage in judging of the symmetry of the whole, and may easily be mistaken in his judgment. Nevertheless, the division of the *Articles* between the two volumes does seem to be singularly out of proportion. The first volume contains a lucid Introduction of less than a hundred pages, which gives the student just what he wants to know about the history and development of the *Thirty-nine Articles*; and with this stands a discussion of the first eight *Articles*, which fills a little over 250 pages. The remaining twenty-one *Articles* have all to be packed into the second volume. The reason for this disproportionate treatment is obvious. The *Articles*, when arranged according to their subject-matter, fall into four groups. I. The Catholic Faith, and where it may be found (i.-viii.). II. Personal Religion, or Man and his Salvation (ix.-xviii.). III. Corporate Religion, or the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments (xix.-xxxi.). IV. Miscellaneous *Articles*, relating to the Discipline of the Church of England, &c. (xxxii.-xxxix.). Obviously, it would have been impossible to get the whole of the first two groups into the first volume without a much greater violation of proportion than is apparent at present. But would there have been any serious disadvantage in dividing the second group and treating some of the *Articles* in it in the first volume and some in the second? In the work which Dr Gibson's treatise is no doubt meant to supersede, and is likely to supersede, there is no such startling inequality of treatment. Harold Browne gives 218 pages to the first eight *Articles* and 607 to the remainder. In the volumes before us, 266 pages are given to the first eight *Articles* and only 436 to the remainder.

At the outset the author makes the true remark, that, "if the

fourth century was the age of Creeds, the sixteenth is the age of Articles (p. 3). This is better than to speak of both as "Creed-making" eras (p. 1), which confounds the essential distinctions between Creeds and Articles. Creeds are universal and permanent, or aim at being so. Articles are local and temporary. They are drawn up to meet the difficulties of a portion of the Church at some crisis in its history. The splendid sarcasm of Hilary would have lost much of its point, if the countless synods which afflicted the Church in his day had contented themselves with drawing up Articles for their own use, instead of attempting to impose Creeds upon the whole of Christendom. "Every year, nay, every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done; we defend those who repent; we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and mutually tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of one another's ruin" (*Ad Constant.* ii. 4). The fatal secret had been divulged at Nicaea that it was possible for a council to frame a Creed for the whole Church; and it was a long time before the far more necessary truth was recognised that the conditions under which such a thing can be done are both difficult and rare. But it is quite otherwise with Articles.

In the sixth section of the Introduction the valuable remark is made that "it is from the clergy, and the clergy only, that the Church demands subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles" (p. 64). At one time the Universities required its members to sign them. Those of us who took the Degree of M.A. at Oxford or Cambridge before 1871 had to sign the Articles before we received that degree. And those who matriculated before 1854 signed them when they entered the University. But this was an academic restriction, directed originally against Roman Catholics. It was not a restriction imposed upon its lay members by the Church of England. The only formula to which a layman is by direction of the Book of Common Prayer required to give his assent is the shortest and simplest of all the Creeds. The Articles are a protection to the ears of the laity, not a restriction on their opinions. They tell the clergy what doctrines they are *not* to teach to the people.

The Introduction ends very conveniently with the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. in 1553. They are given in full, with the Latin and English in parallel columns, so that the reader can in any particular case compare the articles, as we now have them, at the end of the Book of Common Prayer with the corresponding articles in the earlier draft.

The notes on each article are generally sober and to the point.

They give the student the information which he requires without extravagance or partisanship. After pointing out the confusion which resulted from the technical terms used in Greek and Latin to express the idea represented by "Person" in the Trinity, and quoting Newman's words to the effect that Person, if understood as meaning *individual*, would suggest Tritheism, and if taken in the classical sense of *character*, would suggest Unitarianism, Dr Gibson remarks that the Church means neither of these. "All that she intends to express by the use of the term 'three Persons' is that which she understands Holy Scripture to teach, namely, that there are three eternal distinctions in the divine nature, anterior to, and independent of, any relation to created life" (p. 114).

In the discussion of the *ὁμοούσιον* (pp. 124-135) some references might have been given with advantage to one or other of Professor Gwatkin's two works on Arianism, especially the later and smaller one, which is within the reach of even poor students, and within the comprehension of everyone who is capable of studying theology at all.

There is a valuable note on pp. 143, 144 on the limitation of knowledge in the human soul of Christ. It states well the centre of the question. We have Christ's own authority (Mark xiii. 32) for believing that ignorance was *possible* for Him. How far that ignorance extended is "a matter of reasonable inference from the Gospel narrative." A few texts are quoted which seem to imply clearly that, although had He so willed it, He might have known, yet there were occasions when He condescended not to know. But the question about Ps. cx. is not touched; and there is no attempt to exhibit any principle in the limitation of knowledge. The principle seems to be identical with that which appears to govern all miracles. A miracle is never wrought where ordinary means would suffice. When our Lord's work required that He should know something, and He could obtain this knowledge by inquiry, He never willed to know it supernaturally (Mark vi. 38; viii. 5; ix. 21; John xi. 34; &c.). But where the knowledge was necessary, and could only be obtained by supernatural means, He adopted such means, as in the case of Nathanael under the fig-tree, the woman at the well, the illness and death of Lazarus, &c., &c. To attribute omniscience to Christ is a form of Docetism, for it amounts to a denial of the reality of His human nature.

On Article VI. there is a clear and accurate statement of the application of the words *κανονίζειν*, *κανονικός*, and *κάνων* in reference to Holy Scripture (p. 249). But it is no fault of the writer that he does not show how the statement, "in the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the

Church," is to be harmonized with the statement, "all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account canonical." The two cannot be harmonized; and Dr Gibson does not seem to put much trust in his own suggestion that "was never any doubt in the Church" may mean in the *Church as a whole*. If there was doubt *in* the Church about the Antilegomena, there was doubt *in* the Church as a whole. If the Article had said "whose authority was never doubted *by* the whole Church," such an explanation might have held.

On p. 277 there is a useful table to show the varying senses in which the terms Canonical and Apocryphal have been used by different authorities in reference to the books of the Old Testament. With regard to the Apocrypha in our own Bible (of which we now happily have a Revised Version) hardly enough is said in the way of commendation. The immense value of these books in bridging the gaps between the Old Testament and the New might have been pointed out; and, as there is half a page blank at p. 279, we may hope for a few words to this effect in the next edition. Now that the investigation of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature is throwing so much light on the New Testament, it is worth while directing the attention of students to those examples of it which are in our Bibles; all the more so because so little of the Apocrypha is now read in Church. Those whose memories do not go back beyond 1871 hardly understand an allusion to Tobit or Judith.

In connexion with Article VII., it is wisely maintained (respecting the amount of knowledge concerning a future state possessed by the Jews before Christ), that the Article "leaves us free to decide the critical question on critical grounds" (p. 293). For that freedom every loyal student of Holy Scripture ought to contend, not merely with regard to the question mentioned, but with regard to all critical questions. Our Lord's saying respecting Ps. cx. is no exception. The authorship of that Psalm is a critical question, and must be decided on critical grounds. Each of us has a right to his own interpretation of Christ's words; but he has no right to say that His words forbid other people from using critical methods to determine the date of Ps. cx. Nothing in Christ's teaching leads us to believe that He wished to free us from the trouble of such inquiry.

It is specially as regards the Creeds that the work of Harold Browne is nearly half a century behind our present knowledge, and in the treatment of Article VIII. Dr Gibson will be found to give much more satisfactory information. Among the germs of Creeds to be found in the New Testament ought not Rom. viii. 32-34 to be mentioned? He gives the true account of our so-called Nicene

Creed, which differs widely from the Creed which was drawn up at Nicæa. The common idea that our Nicene Creed is the Creed of Nicæa completed at the Council of Constantinople is absolutely wrong. So far as we know, the Second Council framed no Creed; and this Creed was in existence at least six or seven years, and possibly much more, before that Council met, almost exactly as we have it now. The main differences are these: it had "we believe" for "I believe," retained "that is of the Substance of the Father" after "begotten of His Father before all worlds," and omitted "and the Son" after "who proceedeth from the Father." In all these respects our form has changed for the worse. The omission of ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς removes the chief safeguard against a Sabellian interpretation of ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί; and the insertion of the *Filioque* is one serious obstacle to union between East and West. The Athanasian Creed is given in the original Latin from the Sarum Breviary. Against verse 33, *Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem*, is put the note that "the majority of the older MSS. read *in carne*." But the student is not told how this statement in the Creed is to be reconciled with that of S. John, ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.

In the second volume appears the Preface to the whole work. No doubt Prefaces are commonly written last; but they are generally placed first, and there does not seem to be anything in this one which could not have been written when the first volume was completed. In it the writer defends the disproportionate treatment of the Articles alluded to above.

On Article X. he points out that the heading is misleading, "On Freewill." It neither affirms, nor denies, nor discusses, nor even mentions Freewill. What is asserted is the need of grace; but it is asserted in moderate language, giving no support to the Calvinistic exaggerations of "irresistible grace" on the one side, nor to the Pelagianism of the Anabaptists on the other, who asserted that man had no need of grace in order to do what is pleasing to God.

The sketch of the gradual growth of the system of indulgences, given under Article XIV., is very well done, and may be commended to those who feel that their ideas on the subject are uncertain or confused. One may hear the strangest statements respecting indulgences sometimes from well-educated people, and even from the pulpit; e.g., that they were licences to sin, and that by paying so much money you could obtain the leave of the Pope to commit certain offences against the Divine Law. The whole mischief arose out of the very innocent fact that the Church which imposes a penance can also diminish or remit what has been imposed, or can substitute something else for it. Thus the Council of Clermont, A.D. 1095, decreed that whoever went on crusade to



free Jerusalem from the infidel, out of pure devotion, and not to gain honour or money, the journey was to be counted as a substitute for all penance—*iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur* (p. 430, l. 15, there seems to be a misprint of "of" for "for"). "Nothing can be more certain from history than the fact of the gradual growth of the system, bit by bit, without any clear conception being formed by anyone of what it really meant, or very much serious thought being bestowed upon it" (p. 434); and this fact ought to be kept steadily in mind in considering the hideous abuses to which the system led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Dult*, which still survives as a name for a fair or annual market in Germany, is an abbreviation of *indulgentia*, and thus bears testimony to the close connexion between indulgences and traffic.

Equally good, on Article XIX., are the statements respecting the visible Church and the attitude of the Church of England to the Church of Rome. Nowhere in the Articles, or in any other official document, does the Church of England pronounce the Church of Rome to be apostate, or no Church at all. However great her errors may be (and they have not decreased since the Articles were written), she remains a branch of the Catholic Church and a "mother of saints." The Church of England accepts not only the baptism but the Orders of Rome, and when any of the Roman clergy come over to her never professes to reordain them even conditionally. In spite of recent discouraging events, a time will perhaps come when the Church of Rome will be unable to blind herself any longer to historical facts, and will see that Anglican Orders are at least as valid as her own.

In discussing the words, "the Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ" (Article XX.), the story of the Ethiopian eunuch is used to show that, if "the rather foolish saying, The Bible and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," were true, the eunuch, who was reading the Scriptures, ought to have had all that he wanted, which was not the case. But it might also have been pointed out that, if the Church is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, the Church must be there first. It is not the Bible which gave us the Church, but the Church which gave us the Bible. If each individual were to make his own Canon of Scripture, we should have some strange results. And when we remember what precious things have perished, because it was no one's business to preserve them, we may well wonder what would have become of the contents of our Bibles, if God had not provided an organized society to be not only a judge of what is Scripture, but also a guardian of that which has been recognised as such.

That "the idea of a General Council seems to have originated,

not with the Church but with the Emperor" (p. 533), is most true. Constantine wanted a great social, moral, and spiritual force, which might hold together the heterogeneous elements of the Roman Empire. He thought that he had found this in the Christian Church. But the Donatist and Meletian Schisms and the controversies about Arius seemed to show that the Church itself was falling to pieces. "If water chokes you, what are you to wash it down with?" If the Church, which was to unite all else, was to be torn by dissensions, then farewell to the unity of the Empire. And thus one of the most despotic sovereigns that have ever reigned in Christian times, in an age in which all political freedom, or even the very desire for it, was extinct, gave to the Christian Church the splendid idea and the actual fact of representative government. In this way the Council of Nicaea has for us an interest which no other General Council can rival. But even of that assembly the remark holds good, that "the record of Councils, summoned as 'General' ones, and conducted with proper forms, is often a painful one to read" (p. 534). Is there the record of a single *one* which is *not* painful to read? They are magnificent instances of the Divine process of bringing good out of evil. Church history would be pleasanter, but far less instructive, if one could see only the results, and know nothing of the processes by which they are reached. It is rightly pointed out that completeness of representation is no guarantee of inerrancy; it merely makes error somewhat less likely. Every Council, however representative, has its decisions revised by the whole Church, not formally, but practically. If they are universally accepted, they are sound. If they are widely disputed or ignored, the presumption is the other way. What is flippantly called "the infallibility of the odd man," has no place in the teaching of the Church.

Regarding the invocation of saints, the common sense view is taken, that we have no security that the saints departed are capable of hearing our prayers, Scripture being silent on the subject. When we ask friends to pray for us, we know that our request reaches them, and that they are aware of our needs. But asking S. Peter or S. John to pray for us may be wasted labour. And there is no primitive and catholic tradition to override this initial difficulty. The earliest examples belong to the second half of the fourth century (Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Ephraem, Augustine); and some of these may be rhetorical addresses rather than deliberate invocations. The examples in the catacombs are of unknown date. But requests to the saints to pray for us, questionable as they are, differ widely from the direct prayers which are to be found in modern service books, both Eastern and Western; e.g., Ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

On the question of Infant Baptism (Article XXVII.), it does not seem to be judicious to quote Acts ii. 33, 38 as in favour of the practice. "For to you is the promise, *and to your children*," indicates nothing as to the age at which children were baptized. And Justin's writing of people aged sixty and seventy, "who had been Christ's disciples *from childhood*" (*Apol.* i. 15), proves nothing as to baptism. Even as late as the fourth century we find not only good, but saintly parents bringing up their sons as "Christ's disciples from childhood," yet leaving them unbaptized until they were quite grown up. Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, and others, are well known instances. We must rest content with the position that Infant Baptism can be neither proved nor disproved from Scripture, and the scanty evidence will be estimated differently by different minds. But "that from the second century onwards the Church was familiar with the idea and practice of Infant Baptism" (p. 639), is quite true.

But this review must draw to a close. In the subsequent pages the important changes introduced into Article XXVIII. (in the earlier Forty-two Articles, XXIX), and the leading points in the controversy respecting the Christian ministry, are brought to the student's notice in a clear and succinct manner. Under the latter head the way in which Romanists shift their ground in objecting to Anglican Orders is rightly insisted on. In a subsequent edition attention will, no doubt, be called to the reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, in which the Pope was so ill-advised as not merely to decide, but to give reasons for his decision. The concluding Articles are treated somewhat briefly, the last two being dismissed in six or seven pages.

The extent to which the Thirty-nine Articles breathe the spirit of compromise is perhaps not quite often enough insisted upon in these two volumes. Thus a doctrine dear to one party, but unacceptable to the other, is sometimes implied without being stated in exact terms. There is a good instance of this in Article IX. In the Latin we have *renati* twice; *Manet etiam in renatis haec naturae depravatio. . . . Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla condemnatio*. This is rendered in the English, "This infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are *regenerated*. . . . And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are *baptized*." If the same word may be rendered either "regenerated" or "baptized," then baptismal regeneration is to be maintained.

This exposition of the Articles may be heartily recommended, especially for its *historical* treatment of matters of controversy. The history of doctrines must be studied, if the pacification of Christendom is ever to be accomplished; and whatever aids this kind of study is very welcome.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

**The Christian Ecclesia: A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia; and Four Sermons.**

*By Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., etc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Pp. vii. 297. Price, 6s.*

ANOTHER volume of Dr Hort's Lectures is welcome, for those which have been already published have whetted the appetite for more of his work, and the present lectures on the *Ecclesia* are as interesting and as weighty as any that have previously appeared. In them all those features stand out strongly which are so characteristic of his writings; the intellectual industry which has worked over and round every point, however slightly touched upon; the faithfulness to truth, let it lead where it may; the precision of language which gives weight to every sentence, and often condenses into an epithet an entire description or argument; the cautious reserve in generalisation; and the masterly grasp of minute detail. All these features, which we have learnt to look for in Hort's writings, are found here in fullest measure; and added to them is the fascination of the subject with which these lectures are occupied. They have, it must be confessed, the tantalising incompleteness also which characterises nearly all of Hort's work. The aim which at the outset of the course he set before himself was never reached, the plan he outlined was only followed out in part, and even within these limits gaps are left which one longs to see filled in by the same master-hand which drew the sketch and wrought with such perfect finish some of its sections.

In the opening lecture expectation is at once raised of something like an exhaustive inquiry: "The subject on which I propose to lecture this term is, The Early Conceptions and Early History of the Christian Ecclesia. The reason why I have chosen the term Ecclesia is simply to avoid ambiguity. . . . The larger part of our subject lies in the region of what we commonly call Church History; the general Christian history of the ages subsequent to the Apostolic age. But before entering on that region, we must devote some little time to matter contained in the Bible itself." In the result, however, this "little time" was extended till it absorbed all the time available during two university terms, and the "larger part" of the subject was never reached. Even the Biblical division had to be hurried and compressed at the close, if it was not to be left unfinished; and so with repeated expression of reluctance in passing over matter on which he would like to have said more, three short pages are made to suffice for the writings of St Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, and

the later writings of St John ; while St James' last days are left over for future treatment by Dr Hort, "if I should be permitted to lecture on the remaining part of our subject another time."

These limitations in the present volume have to be accepted with such resignation as one can command. But if the field covered is not so wide as the title might lead one fairly to expect, at all events a single-hearted thoroughness is found everywhere, which makes one grateful for what has been given. A critical sympathy, too, which is very rare, excites admiration, even while it gives an edge to one's impatience at the too narrow boundaries within which it has found exercise. There is one short passage indicating what lay before Dr Hort's own mind as needed to complete what he has written, which is worth quoting ; but it is the measure only of what has been left undone. "I can do no more now than ask you to think of the different lights in which Church membership might naturally present itself, first when Christians were only scattered sojourners in the midst of a suspicious and often hostile population ; next, when they had become, though a minority, yet an important and a tolerated minority ; then when they were set on a place of vantage by the civil power, and so were increased by hosts of mere timeservers ; and, lastly, when they had come to constitute practically the whole population, and a Christian world had come into existence. The fundamental perplexing fact throughout was the paradox of a holy Ecclesia, consisting in part of men very unholy. In at least three great sectarian movements of the early ages this is an important element, in Montanism, Novatianism, Donatism ; but the fundamental thoughts which in this respect governed these movements are to be found in the writings of justly venerated Fathers" (p. 224-5).

But enough of regrets : this book contains quite sufficient good work done to make one prize it far more highly than most books which profess to accomplish more. Let some of the leading points established fill our remaining space.

In accordance with his usual practice Dr Hort began by scrutinising closely the word which defined his subject. He resolved to avoid English equivalents, such as "Church" or "congregation," both as being inadequate in some respects, and especially as carrying with them later associations, which could hardly fail to have the effect of more or less prejudicing the inquiry he was undertaking. Adopting then the term *Ecclesia*, he drew out with admirable completeness and precision the meanings it bore, and the associations it aroused, among those who were the first to feel the impulse of the Lord's life. Following the term back through the Septuagint, he pointed out that while the explanation sometimes given of it as a people "called out" from the world has no positive ground to



rest upon, it had come to embody naturally the thoughts involved in God's own Israel. But if thus almost equivalent to what St Paul called the true Israel in contrast with the Israel after the flesh, the term never lost the sense which its classical origin gave it, of the people of God assembled for common action, or at least conscious of their corporate life.

This fundamental idea is then followed out historically as the various references to the Ecclesia in the New Testament are examined in order. The gradual extension of the term from the local community of believers in Jerusalem to other local groups of disciples, and as these developed inter-relations over an ever-widening range, the further extension to the universal Ecclesia, which the Ephesian epistle represents as lying in the eternal purpose of God from the first and now revealed at last, are carefully traced out. And pains are taken to prevent the erroneous inference which might be drawn that the universal Ecclesia was in any sense a federation of the local Ecclesiae. Rather the fact is dwelt upon that every individual member of the universal Ecclesia is such in virtue of his direct relation to the Lord, who is the Head of every member as He is the Head of the whole Body. The final analysis leads to the luminous and far-reaching conclusion "that the true Ecclesiastical life, and the true Christian life, and the true human life, are all one and the same"; which is to give new social expression to Augustine's noble definition of human destiny, "Thou madest us for Thyself, and we are restless till we rest in Thee."

To traverse in detail the argument which consists mainly in a lucid and minute examination of one passage after another bearing on the Ecclesia would serve no useful purpose; the lectures are themselves condensed as far as the subject will admit, and to them one must turn for the successive steps of reasoning, and the evidence on which they rest. The mention of some salient points will be a better means of indicating the scope of the book.

In the early part of the inquiry the question of course arises, What is the relation between the Ecclesia and the Kingdom of Heaven? Hort rightly says "we are not justified in identifying the one with the other"; but it is certainly disappointing to find that in his belief this "large department of our Lord's teaching may be safely laid aside." It is obvious that the conception of the Ecclesia in early times was affected by the Lord's conception of the Kingdom. His teaching about the latter was continual; His references to the former were, so far as is recorded, only two. On the other hand, in the apostolic writings the proportion is reversed, or nearly so. If, as is certainly the case, the two terms are not simply alternative expressions for a single fact, it would seem of first importance to investigate the real bearing of the one upon the

other. To have done so would doubtless have greatly increased the area of the inquiry; on the other hand, to leave this undone is surely to build without securing the foundation.

The date of these lectures accounts for one weakness which many readers must feel in them. They were delivered before any of the recent work was published, by which Prof. Ramsay has thrown so much fresh light on St Paul's life, and especially on the course of his polemic against Judaistic claims. In these, as in the preceding lectures on "Judaistic Christianity," Hort simply follows in the path which Lightfoot had marked out, adding little to his results, unless in mere detail, and criticising very leniently, if at all, his more debatable positions. A necessary consequence is, that the account which he has to give of the relations between the Ecclesia in Jerusalem and that in Antioch, lacks that naturalness, coherence, and reality which is to be found in the facts when viewed from the standpoint to which Prof. Ramsay has so greatly helped us. The want is felt most distinctly when St Peter's visit to Antioch is treated of. So long as it is held that this *followed* the discussion and decision concerning the position of foreign believers, which is related in Acts xv., it is impossible with any ingenuity to set it in a probable light. But the moment one recognises that Gal. ii. 1-10, and Acts xi. 27-30, refer to the same events, and that, consequently, St Peter's visit to Antioch occurred *after* the private conference related in the former of these passages, and *before* the public debate related in Acts xv., the matter becomes convincingly natural. St Peter was a man of action, not an abstract thinker, and he was naturally moved by practical considerations. Not so very long ago he had experienced the jealousy of the Jerusalem Ecclesia, when, on the first receipt of tidings about Cornelius' baptism, he was reproached, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them." When some of these, his accusers, arrived in Antioch, there seemed to St Peter the best of reasons for not arousing, through any inconsiderate exercise of lawful liberty, the same unhappy jealousy in a community of believers which hitherto had been free from faction; so to avoid all occasion for strife, "he drew back and separated himself" from that brotherly intercourse with foreign disciples, which in itself he thought right enough. But to St Paul the matter appeared in another light. More far-seeing than St Peter, and of a more logical temperament, St Paul saw clearly that a vital principle was here involved, though one which had not yet been made a distinct matter of controversy. And gauging more accurately the complicated situation of the Antioch Ecclesia, with which he was so much more familiar, he felt bound to stand forward openly for what he saw to be in danger of being sacrificed unwittingly.

There are frequent instances in these lectures of the careful study of some phrase or term occurring in the New Testament, with a view to the definition of the idea, or the correction of a common misconception. It will suffice to mention the discussion of the terms *χάρις* and *χάρισμα*, and the well-considered reading of "apostles and prophets" as referring, not to two classes of persons, but to two functions, which might be and often were combined in the same person. It is by this path that Hort reaches a solution of one of the most vexed points in his inquiry, viz., the nature of the "Orders" in the early Ecclesia. He denies that the language of the New Testament justifies one in taking *ἐπίσκοπος* where it occurs as the title of a class or order in the Church. Rather it is expressive of one who exercises a function of oversight. Such an one would commonly be an Elder; and the only trace Hort finds of a "monarchical" episcopate is in the position that James came to hold in the Ecclesia in Jerusalem. Of the order of Deacons or "Ministrants" he sees the germ in the choice of "the seven"; although he regards that as merely a step taken to meet an immediate and local need. The origin of the order of "Elders" he finds in the Jewish communities, which everywhere seem to have possessed them, and so to have afforded a usage which continued unquestioned in the Ecclesiae, which were at first Jewish in habit and race.

There are also many examples of suggestive ideas which afford new points of view from which to look at familiar facts—and what is of more value than a fresh standpoint? One such may be quoted. Everyone has noticed the difference between the Epistle to the Ephesians and the earlier letters of St Paul: to what is this due? Some have answered, To a growth in the apostle's thought; others have said, To a different authorship. Hort's answer is, that this letter to the Asiatic Ecclesiae gave him his first opportunity for uttering that higher teaching, which he considered only suited to Christian maturity. "We have to remember the significant hint given in 1 Cor. ii., that the teaching which he addressed to unripe communities was purposely cut down to be proportional to their spiritual state, and that all the while he was cherishing in his own mind a world of higher thoughts, 'a wisdom,' as he calls it, which could rightly be proclaimed only to maturer recipients; though here and there, for instance in some passages of Romans, he could not refrain from partially admitting others to these inner thoughts. . . . The Ecclesiae of Ephesus and other cities of that region may have seemed to him to have now reached a sufficiently high stage of discipleship. . . . The primary subjects of this higher teaching may be described as the relation of the Son of God to the constitution of the Universe, and to the course of human history,

and in connection with such themes it was but natural that the Ecclesia of God should find a place."

It remains only to add that these most interesting lectures are supplemented in the present volume by four sermons preached by Dr Hort. One of these is an ordination sermon, one was delivered in Emmanuel College Chapel, and one at a University Commemoration of Benefactors. All raise in different ways the idea of the Christian Ecclesia as it bears on our modern life. The noblest of them, perhaps, is the last, preached at the consecration of Bishop Westcott; and this will be read with a pathetic interest by those who remember the effort that it cost Hort, and the fact that it was almost his latest utterance.

E. P. BOYS-SMITH.

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### **The Spirit on the Waters: The Evolution of the Divine from the Human.**

*By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1897.*  
8vo, pp. vii. 475. Price, 12s. 6d.

THE problem, to account for Christianity without miracle, to exhibit this most powerful spiritual manifestation as the result of natural Evolution, still attracts inquiring minds; and it has never been attempted by a writer of keener mental acuteness or profounder spiritual insight than Dr Abbott. Even those who believe the problem to be as insoluble as the squaring of the circle will be glad that it has fallen into hands that deal so reverently with all that deserves reverence; and those who can scarcely muster patience to turn the pages of a work which they are convinced is doomed to failure, will be won to a careful reading by the charm of the writer's style and the sudden light that he sheds into many of the obscurities of our religion.

His purpose being to exhibit how the Divine Spirit has brooded on the waters of the physical and spiritual world, bringing into existence all that God intended, and step by step accomplishing the Divine Will, his method is dictated to him. He traces the history of the Evolutionary process through the inanimate, the animal, and the human world, and through the gradual development of Israel, until the Christ appears as the culmination and natural result. He then carries forward the same line of history into the growth of the Church, exhibiting the evolution of the Christian Faith and of the later Churches. The work thus covers a large field, and compels the author to face many knotty and important problems; yet he has not only equipped himself with the requisite scientific and historical knowledge, but it is also evident

that he has originally and clearly thought out the process of evolution as it applies to the animal world, to man, and to Israel. Indeed, it may be said that in each of these departments he has some contribution to make to the accumulation of facts and ideas already made.

The primary difficulty with which he is confronted is, of course, that which arises from the scientific materialist, who questions whether there is any Spirit on the Waters, any Will, good and reasonable, which is finding expression through evolution. In finding his way through this preliminary objection he does not err by claiming too much, but is content to maintain that belief in the Supreme Will has the same justification as belief in our own will. "Both beliefs may be illogical, but both may be found to 'work'; that is, to be in accordance with experience. By 'experience' we mean, in the first place, the internal experience of that moral and spiritual harmony which is essential to the best development of humanity." In a brief but effective criticism of Huxley's *Romanes Lecture*, he shows that cosmic force evolves not only the principle of selfish struggle for existence, but also the self-sacrifice which supersedes it; that it rewards us if we believe in a righteous God, punishes us if we refuse belief. But when Dr Abbott proceeds to illustrate how the God we believe in must be recognised as Father, Son, and Spirit, he seems, in our opinion, to leave solid ground, and commit himself to very thin ice indeed.

His chapters on the Evolution of Israel are most instructive. Miracles, of course, he dismisses, not because they are impossible, but because the evidence is insufficient, and because the events supposed to be miraculous can be naturally explained. The language in which they are narrated is poetical, and "until one has read widely in Rabbinical literature, it is perhaps impossible to conceive of the extent of Jewish hyperbole, the quaintness of Jewish metaphor, and the ease with which a combination of metaphor and hyperbole might be transmuted into a detailed and picturesque semblance of history." But the books of the Old Testament are inspired, and this means, "not that they are specially accurate in accounts of facts, nor that they are specially scientific in accounts of the material causes of facts; but that they help us, as no other literature in the world helps us, to see God conforming man to his own image through progressive lessons in morality and progressive visions of the Divine Nature."

Instructive as is Dr Abbott's account of the preparation in the Old Testament for the coming of Christ, it is not apparent that he makes it more intelligible how a new leader should arise without special divine intervention. Indeed, admitting, as he does, that the time of Christ's appearing was a time of extraordinary



political, literary, moral, and spiritual deadness, he betakes himself to the surprising device of accounting for His appearance on the principle that "man's necessity is God's opportunity." But, to say the least of it, this is not to explain the appearance of Christ in terms of evolution. Neither does he really face the difficulty of accounting for the peculiarity of Christ when He did appear. He declares that the Eternal Logos did become man, a mere man, and that His humanity was real, genuine, and unmixed, not endowed with any such powers, physical or mental, as would take it out of the human category. This manhood of Jesus was wholly taken into God, so that He was perfectly one with the Father and the Spirit, and perfectly divine, and so that the Father is best worshipped by worshipping Jesus Christ as His Son. To Dr Abbott's account of Jesus it has, he tells us, been objected: "You do not make it at all intelligible to me how a casual town-lad of Nazareth, though the most innocent and susceptible of youths, should grow quite naturally into the consciousness of being the Son of God, the Incarnate Word." His reply is "for 'Nazareth' read 'Stratford on Avon,' and for 'innocent' read 'observant'; and the weakness of such an objection will be patent." And he maintains that it was as "natural" for Jesus to grow up into the consciousness of powers of forgiving, healing the soul, dying for sinners, rising again, as for Shakespeare to grow into the consciousness that Hamlet had to be written and then write it. But this leaves wholly unexplained the uniqueness of Jesus. No man in any other department stands alone; if Caesar, or Phidias, or Shakespeare is first, there is always a second not far behind. But Jesus sets Himself on one side and all men on the other; He the Saviour, they the saved; He the sinless, they the sinful; He one with God, they needing Him to mediate. The problem remains. Dr Abbott has done little or nothing to help us to understand this uniqueness, this unrivalled, unprecedented holiness. After exhibiting the whole evolutionary process, which is to enable us to understand the origin of Jesus, he virtually says that His appearance is unintelligible unless we have regard to the Spirit of God immanent in Him. But the Spirit is immanent in the whole evolutionary process. It is the method and visible outcome of the Spirit's working; and to admit that the appearance of Jesus cannot be explained by any known law of evolution is to admit that the contention of the book is not made good. At the utmost it can be said that Dr Abbott has shown that other phenomena of the evolutionary process are also unintelligible.

In fact, the main difficulty which will prevent readers from accepting Dr Abbott's conclusions is, that he has too easily dismissed the unique miracle of Christ's personality and sinlessness. Even

his handling of the miraculous cures is unsatisfactory ; his account of the cure of the leper especially so. But this volume labours under the disadvantage of being published in advance of that which in the author's plan precedes it. The critical portion of the work, in which the miracles, and especially the Resurrection and subsequent appearances of Christ are discussed, is reserved for future publication ; so that the readers of this present volume are left in doubt regarding Dr Abbott's grounds for some of the positions he occupies. But unless in that expected critical volume much greater attention is given to the sinlessness and perfect moral ideal which all Christians find in Christ, this will be recognised as a fatally weak point in Dr Abbott's treatment of the subject. For at present it is not the miracles of healing, nor even chiefly or solely the Resurrection, but the unique character of Christ, which commands the faith of men in His Divine, exceptional origin.

The same neglect of character appears in the account Dr Abbott gives of the subsequent evolution of Christianity. This is traced mainly in doctrinal development and in the growth of institutions. And this is all the more remarkable, because if Jesus was the result of natural evolution, then it is not in His express, verbal teaching, but in His character, and in the light which that sheds on God, that we find His most trustworthy message. He introduced, not perhaps true views of the source of human disease, or of its relation to evil spirits, nor yet correct anticipations of the world's future, but a new life and a new type of character. Of course, if we asked why the process of evolution seems to have terminated in Jesus, why no riper, richer, more perfect type of life has since been evolved, Dr Abbott would probably tell us that the type introduced by Jesus was perfect ; that in Him the human and the divine were identified, and that beyond that, there can be no further evolution. The aim and end of the process is reached. Moreover, in other departments we see similar phenomena. The appearance of Shakespeare was solitary. A race of Shakespeares was not introduced, although he did introduce a new standard of excellence. So that we cannot argue that if Jesus was the result of an evolutionary process, that process would be traced after His appearance in the production of still higher characters than His.

That the subject which Dr Abbott discusses in this volume requires fresh treatment is undeniable. Each generation must think out for itself its own faith and the attitude it should assume to the Lord. It must at the least revise previous decisions regarding Him. And while it is pathetic to see how theologian after theologian spends the best thought of his life on the solution of the perplexities which centre in Christ's Person, only to find that his results are disregarded or denied, it is still the mystery and the

importance of the problem that attract afresh the best minds among us. It is vain to deny that in the view so ably and reverentially advocated by Dr Abbott there is much that is attractive and much that promises to place Christianity on a more easily intelligible foundation, and to give it a wider empire. But it should be clearly recognised what we are required to surrender; and the alteration of our beliefs consequent on our reception of this view should be precisely stated. Obviously it is not the view held by the writers of the New Testament, and, if accepted, it would involve a radical change in our attitude towards the documents of our faith. Ultimately, and with some minds, it might seem to bring God nearer to men; but primarily, and to the majority, it would seem to reduce the Father to a remote impersonality. The relation of the Father to the sacrifice of Christ and to the whole earthly humiliation is altered, and, indeed, there are few theological topics which would not feel the change. Meanwhile, Gospel criticism refuses to admit that the miraculous element can be eliminated, and Dr Abbott's critical volume will be awaited with interest.

MARCUS DODS.

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### **Liturgies, Eastern and Western.**

*Being the Texts original or translated of the principal Liturgies of the Church; Edited on the basis of the former work by C. E. Hammond, by F. E. Brightman, M.A. Vol. I.: Eastern Liturgies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896. 8vo, pp. civ. 603. Price, 21s.*

THE preface to this monumental work explains its genesis out of the work published in 1878 by Hammond. But even Mr Brightman's modesty cannot obscure the patent fact that it is practically a new work from the sources, simply occasioned by the invitation to prepare a kindred work on the basis of its predecessor. Indeed it would be impossible, apart from a perusal of the exhaustive literary Introduction of more than eighty pages, to convey an adequate impression of the assiduous and watchful care that has gone to the making of the present volume, which yet covers only half the field occupied in a more perfunctory way by Hammond. Ours is the age of MS. research, and the difference of the two books is quite as much that of methods as of men. Liturgies are now being studied as an aspect of Church History, and are accordingly undergoing a really critical handling. Hitherto they have been left far too much to the mere Liturgiologist, a man generally of antiquarian rather than historical instincts; so that they have formed a study apart, hardly touched by the idea of religious development, and

contributing little or nothing to the interpretation and exposition of the Church's life as set forth in Church histories. Of course there has been loss on both sides. On the one hand, certain products of ecclesiastical piety from the fourth century onwards have been taken very much as they stood; and with little exact knowledge, if much vague assumption, as to their relation to more primitive piety, have been elevated into precedents to be regarded with almost superstitious awe. On the other hand, we have had church history failing to use most valuable evidence for a genuine reconstruction of the piety of the heart as well as the head, as it lived in the ancient Church, the unseen well-spring of much that appears indeed on the page of ecclesiastical history, but as effect even more than as cause. For if it is true that a man's religion is fully known only when we overhear his devotions, then we cannot fully know the piety of the Church apart from some insight into the development of her collective devotions: and this must be gained through a patient and appreciative study of the deposits left behind in the shape of ancient liturgies. And our one substantial criticism of the Pusey Librarian's admirable *Corpus Liturgiarum* is that, in failing to print in sequence the liturgical fragments (explicit and implicit) of the Ante-Nicene Church—and notably the Eucharist as reflected in the *Didaché*—he helps to keep up older rigid views of the subject by obscuring the enormous development which lies behind the fourth-century formularies. In so saying, one does not overlook the virtual but partial corrective supplied by excellent Appendices, like those on the Liturgy of Palestine in the fourth century; the Liturgy of Antioch from the Antiochene writings of St Chrysostom; of Egypt from the early Egyptian fathers; of Asia from the Canons of Laodicea; of the Pontic Exarchate as implied in the Great Cappadocians and the local synods of Ancyra (314), Neo-Cæsarea (c. 315), and Gangra (c. 358); and finally the Byzantine Liturgy from Chrysostom's later works and from some others. Nor is it forgotten that the earliest material will no doubt receive due attention in the "properly liturgical discussions . . . for the present reserved." But after all, the defect in question is more than one of an alternative method; for it unconsciously contains a *suggestio falsi* as to our evidence for the extent and character of liturgical development.

It would be out of place to attempt a full description of the wealth of literary material here collected from the most various and often curious quarters for the benefit of those who come after, while for the author himself it means years of such toil as is rarely lavished on a single volume, even where it has been, as so obviously here, a labour of love. We must satisfy ourselves by

briefly indicating (1) the general scope of the texts here printed, and (2) the nature of the apparatus supplied to explain their sources and facilitate their intelligent use. As to (1): we have first the Syrian rite in its various forms, Greek and Syriac (the latter, as all non-Greek texts, in an English version), where the text of the Syrian Jacobite rite has been constructed with great care from several sources. Next comes the Egyptian rite, in four forms: the Greek "Lit. of S. Mark," its Coptic Jacobite analogue, the Ethiopic *Anaphora* from the "Church Ordinances," the Ethiopic "Lit. of the Apostles." Then the Persian rite, under which we find the Lit. of the Nestorians on the basis of the *editio princeps* constructed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission at Urmi, and issued in 1890. Finally the Byzantine rite in its various ramifications, starting from the Liturgy, as given in the valuable Barberini MS. (9th cent.), and ending with certain modern forms, namely, the current Orthodox Lit. of S. Chrysostom, the Prayers of the Lit. of S. Basil, and the Armenian Liturgy. In all these, what skilful arrangement (*e.g.*, the printing of concurrent acts in parallel columns) and the use of special type can do, has been done. The indication of Scriptural citations by means of capitals affords the greatest help; while the full index of such passages, and of the system of cross-references, makes the system complete. The one lapse from the highest level of accuracy, in concession to sentiment, is the deliberate following of the language of the A.V. or of the Prayer Book, even where it obscures the fact that the LXX, and not the Hebrew, lies behind the liturgical text. To this we cannot but demur. (2) Passing now to the Introduction concerned with sources and their relative worth, we come to more debateable ground, since questions of substance cannot but be involved in those of form. But it would be premature to join issue save on the points raised by the most exhaustive discussion of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in which our author himself recognises that he has to anticipate somewhat. Not to dwell on the question whether he has done well in simply printing Lagarde's text of *Ap. Const.*, which seems by no means the best which his own MSS. admit of, one may doubt the wisdom of putting the rudimentary liturgy of Bk. ii. 57 after the fuller one of viii. 5-14. It seems to have, by its intrinsic simplicity and coherence, as well as by its superior accord with the scheme in Cyril of Jerusalem and those documents in which Mr Brightman himself is inclined to see traces of a simpler form, possibly "a preliminary draft," of A.C. viii., a strong claim to represent the actual usage known to the (Antiochene) compiler of the *Ap. Const.* in the second half of the fourth century. The "Clementine Liturgy" of Bk. viii., on the other hand, seems overweighted and confused, introducing, even after



the Kiss of Peace, a warning for all but the faithful to withdraw, and showing other traces of an artificial fusion of services. In fact it does, while the former does not, represent, as Mr Brightman sees, a mere eclectic ideal and not an actual rite. The shorter form, therefore, was probably prior both in composition and in fact, and cannot be regarded as in the same sense the compiler's very own, a mere condensation of its longer companion. The fact is, the rite in viii. 5-14, being *apropos* of a bishop's consecration (as also in *Canones Hippolyti*, the *Sahidic Eccl. Canons*, and the *Ethiopic Church Ordinances*), has the appearance of a special service and not a normal Eucharistic service at all. With these qualifications, then, one may accept the result of our author's searching discussion when he says that "the Clementine Liturgy is constructed on the Antiochene scheme and includes the Antiochene *diakonika* ("the parts of the liturgy recited by the deacon"), worked over and expanded by the compiler of the *Ap. Const.*, who is also the pseudo-Ignatius, and filled in with prayers which, whatever sources they may include [*e.g. Can. Hipp.*], are very largely the work of the same compiler." As regards the *Apost. Const.* in general it is worth noting that last summer some specimen extracts from a newly-found Latin version of the *Didaskalia* (the basis of Bks. i.-vi.), hitherto known only in Syriac, were published by Dr. E. Hanler at Vienna, and an edition is promised.

A final word on early liturgies broadly regarded. They leave a twofold impression. First, of the degree to which the clergy and their part in the Eucharist come to replace the Christian people as a whole and the fact that it is *their* Eucharist. The ideas of "celebrants" and of sympathetic onlookers emerge: the notion of "hearing mass"—so alien to the Ante-Nicene period—gradually becomes partly intelligible. Then in the matter of the Sacrifice itself, while the notion of the people's *gifts* to God "for a sweet-smelling savour" once stood in the foreground (though in *some* sense viewed as "body and blood of Christ" as Logos), in the fourth century the notion of the human body and blood of Christ crucified came first to blend with and then overshadow the older conception. What was once primarily a theme of joyous *thanksgiving* became in time one of *awe* at mysteries to be shuddered at (*φρικτὰ μυστήρια*). And it is to be feared that in all modern Churches the idea of the people "offering themselves willingly" by "oblations," which were meant for the Father's service in the relief of needy brethren, has vanished from the Communion Service proper. In the Ethiopic "Church Ordinances" the Invocation runs simply: "We beseech Thee that Thou wouldest send Thine Holy Spirit on the oblation of this church: give it together unto all them that partake [for] sanctification and for fulfilling with the

Holy Spirit and for confirming true faith, that they may laud and praise Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ."

A peculiar merit of the work is its adaptation to all types of readers. For while it has critical texts and apparatus for the trained liturgiologist to work upon, it has an admirable *Glossary* of technical terms in all the languages involved, which gives in the most accessible form exactly what the tyro in such matters wants to learn. Indeed, when we think of all the thought that has gone to make the book the complete and scholarly thing that it is, we can only record our deep sense of debt to its author for the self-effacing conscientiousness that is its note, and for the high ideal of devotion to the service of God in letters which it sets before his fellows.

VERNON BARTLET.

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### Ancient Ideals.

*A Study of Intellectual and Spiritual Growth, from Early Times to the Establishment of Christianity.* By Henry Osborn Taylor. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896. Two vols. 8vo, pp. xi. 461; vii. 430. Price, 25s. net.

THESE elegant volumes—on which the publishers deserve hearty congratulation—furnish the reviewer with an exceptionally difficult task. For they bear witness to wide information, chiefly of that accurate kind acquired only by long and faithful research; to a certain catholicity of culture, traceable to absence of some usual preconceptions; to considerable power of generalisation, especially as this is evinced in capacity to choose salient features from the midst of vast masses of detail; to a wise appreciation of things that cannot be shaken, tending at times, however, to differ little from prejudice. Yet, despite all this, the work is not what it purports to be. Either Mr Taylor has not envisaged the requisite ideal, or, as seems more likely, he has unconsciously fallen far short of its realisation, chiefly by lack of insight and constructive faculty. To balance his long travail with ancient thought and culture against his comparative failure to bring the "ideals" before his readers in any distinctive shape, is no easy matter.

The task essayed by the author cannot be called new. To trace the zig-zag river of human aspiration through the pre-Christian ages till it falls into the sea of the Roman Empire, passing its eddies by, taking no account of its swamps and back-washes, but keeping a steady eye on its main, wayward current—all this has had marked fascination for many during the present century. Rapid extension of knowledge, the girdling of the earth by steam

and electricity, the application of the comparative and historical methods have combined to render the attempt possible. Its very difficulty, due in large part to the perennial charm of the interests involved, and to their deep-rooted significance, has set it in an atmosphere of strange glamour. Notable success in treatment of the whole range still remains sadly to seek. But, on the other hand, several lasting reputations have been won by those who knew how to limit themselves to restricted portions. In virtue of this its fascination—its secret, mysterious subtlety—any review of the whole presents peculiar perils. So much so that, with a single exception, my memory recalls no work wherein the dangers have been foreseen and, relatively at least, overcome. Miss Julia Wedgwood's twenty years of persistent labour were, of a truth, well spent in bringing to perfection the profoundly suggestive spirituality of *The Moral Ideal*. And as this remarkable volume conquered by its method, we may infer that others, of which Mr Taylor's is one, have more or less completely failed by their manner of approach. The plain fact is, there are two methods which, by one of those paradoxes so common in semi-literary, semi-philosophical investigation, compete for the mastery, even although one must end in disappointment, while the other may be the high road to permanent achievement. An author may become so penetrated by the spirit of a civilisation as to be enabled to extract its inmost essence, and thus, without undue obtrusion of detail, convey its everlasting import. In other words, all processes suppressed, results alone appear. This is Miss Wedgwood's plan, and the wonderful flashes of insight, like the profusion of suggestive reflections, scattered over her pages can be traced to her intuition for the exact essentials—an intuition that is no mere inborn faculty, but the concentrated effect of years devoted to pondering the varied facts. Here the ideals come into view as inevitable outgrowths of the civilisations, explaining at once the sporadic tendencies and the immanent end of all. On the other hand, a writer may so far relate the historical events, and may so far discard them. That is to say, he may deploy numerous historical facts, yet not in a historical way. In such cases the common history-book method is modified by liberal permission to skip recorded sequences, and to choose here and there whatever seems characteristic, all for the purpose of constructing a general but homogeneous conspectus. This procedure has lent its attractions ever since, about sixty-five years ago, the materials for study of the past multiplied with unexampled rapidity. An excellent specimen of it may be found in another American work, L. Maria Child's *Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages*, published in 1855, and forecasting Mr Taylor's book, if not in doctrine, then in general conception.

To my mind, this method supplies neither history nor philosophy. Not accurate enough for the one, it is too little intimate for the other. Consequently, the ideals, when they do burst forth, assume the guise of external things—they are no longer organic growths emerging from less to more, and taking their places as indispensable members in a mighty spiritual family.

*Ancient Ideals* belies its title simply because it is an illustration of this procedure. Ideals are conspicuous chiefly by their absence. Of their effects, or presumable effects, we hear much, but of the inspiring principles themselves we are left to draw our own inferences, and very much as we individually choose; there is nothing overwhelmingly inevitable in the sequence. Or, to put the matter in another way—at great labour, for which he deserves and ought to receive every credit, Mr Taylor has brought together numerous characteristics; he is so intent upon this task, unfortunately, that he has almost entirely forgotten character. His book may be an excellent preparation for a work on its subject, and in this aspect it certainly contains not a little of distinct value. Otherwise, he has missed a great opportunity in it, where the same chance has been so conspicuously exploited by Miss Wedgwood, to whom he never refers.

In proof of this, various portions might be selected for detailed examination were space available here. One may be content with asking those questions:—Has Mr Taylor a clear perception of the indwelling unity of all the Semitic civilisations, that of the Jews included? Has he set forth the fundamental nature of the early Greek religion, or grasped the essential significance of the pre-Socratic thought? Does he see how and why Philo gathers into a mechanical system all the elements that a unique personality was to re-create into a new revelation, and this without the faintest idea of his office on the Alexandrian's part? Does he appreciate Plutarch's position as the summariser *par excellence* of ancient classical civilisation—the *laudator temporis acti* even in his keen, though semi-conscious, sense of defect, and in his pathetic search for a remedy amid the old oracles? Does he sufficiently recount the service of the Jews to universal civilisation? Does he wisely interpret—that is, without fictitious supernaturalism—the ultimate necessity for Christianity? A work on *Ancient Ideals* ought to have these problems for its chiefest objects. Yet all the questions adduced, so far as Mr Taylor touches them, must be answered in the negative. The entire method employed, and the attitude adopted throughout the first part, rule out the interpretation put upon Christianity; and, on the other side, if the interpretation of Christianity be correct, the rest of the work needs to be re-written in the express interests of this interpretation.

Mr Taylor's style, to his credit be it said, is a mirror of his thought. It presents strange contrasts. For the greater part it is pedestrian enough, occasionally and over long stretches one is wearied by its dull recital of old, threadbare facts and fictions. This bears witness to the absence of living interest, to that externality of which mention has already been made. Now and then he lightens the page with a happy saying which shows him on a higher level. But this is all too rare. At the beginning and at the end, where he is relatively at his best, the felicitous phrases tend to occur more frequently. There are some in the good introductory chapter, some in the presentation of Greek thought—of which the chapter on Homer is the most adequate—some in the concluding chapter, which is a really attractive piece of generalisation. Those, taken at random, may be quoted in illustration:—“This wholesomeness of punishment for the wrong-doer himself is the crown of the Æschylean ethics; it brings the gleam of hope to punishment, which is vengeance broadened by the thought of universal right” (i. 227). “The only tenderness ever shown by Rome was towards Greece” (i. 414). “The Romans were always men, the Greeks never lost their youth” (i. 417). Stoicism “is philosophy becoming a praying system” (ii. 61). “Aristotelianism was Platonism with its wings clipped; and, after Aristotle, Greek philosophy walked the earth” (ii. 77). “No writer but says foolish things when he attempts to draw the character of Christ” (ii. 237).

While, then, Mr Taylor cannot be said to have succeeded, his book is by no means without its uses. It may be used as a compendium of information. The pity is that so much learning and study should have led to a result so comparatively amorphous. It is a pity, too, that the large number of errors in Greek words should occasion reflections which do not tend to be invariably reassuring.

R. M. WENLEY.

### The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church.

(*The Baird Lecture for 1897*). By Robert Herbert Story, D.D. (Edin.), F.S.A.Scot., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow; Principal Clerk of the General Assembly; and Chaplain to the Queen. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 332. Price, 7s. 6d.

THE subject of this lecture is of ecclesiastical interest in these days when “High-Churchism” is making many captives; and the lecturer's reputation commands attention to his words. It may be



said at once that this book is marked by sensible judgment of men and fairness of interpretation of events, so that it seems to be the work of a "reasonable soul." The main thesis is that the Apostolic Ministry is "a ministry exercised in the spirit and after the example of the first planters of Christianity, and transmitted from them to us in an orderly and recognisable succession." Attempting to prove that there has been and is such a ministry in Scotland, Professor Story sets forth in outline the characteristics of the Scottish ministry from the times of Ninian and Columba to the period of the Revolution Settlement. Sacerdotalism is wholly condemned, and the vigour of the condemnation reveals the lecturer's ecclesiastical stand-point. The Church of Scotland is defined as a "national branch of the Catholic Church," and it is declared to be Catholic because it is orthodox according to the "Catholic standards of orthodoxy." We are informed that it has never separated itself from the Catholic Church of Christ, and that in the whole process of Knox's work there was no schism. "No National Church can be schismatic so long as it holds the Catholic faith." What, according to the Scottish or to the Westminster Confession, are the "Catholic standards of orthodoxy?" Is there any article like the Eighth Article of the Church of England? Professor Story should have been explicit in his definition of the Catholic Church when he speaks about schism. It may be of no moment to oppose him to Matthew Arnold, who wrote that "one must allow that the changes made in the Church of England at the Reformation impaired its Catholicity"; but Arnold's words serve by example to show that the Catholicity of a National and Protestant Church may be denied even by non-Romanists. If Professor Story accepts the statements of the Scottish Confession of 1560, he can claim historic sanction for his application of the term Catholic; and he may safely leave the idea of schism out of account, since the term is to be used in reference, not to the elect of all ages, not to the kirk which is invisible, but in reference to the Church which for long descent and for the area of its mission was styled Catholic by unanimous consent. From the Catholic Church of the Westminster Confession, an ideal but not an historic institution, there cannot be the schism of a Christian Church. It is useless to fight about words. At the same time it seems like trifling with terms and playing with facts to say that at the Reformation there was no schism in Scotland, especially as the Reformers claimed "Chryst's religion" as "*de novo* established, ratified, and approved throughout the whole Realme."

Professor Story gives a clear and interesting account of the Celtic Church, emphasizing its monastic character. Columba, we are told, was the founder of our Scottish Church and also of our

State. In Dalriada Columba promoted Aidan to be king, and Professor Story supplies us with the information that "her present gracious Majesty can trace an unbroken descent from King Aidan of Dalriada and King Kenneth of Scotland, which constitutes her sole hereditary title to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland and the empire of India."

It is amusing to remember that Columba, according to the legend which serves for history, was constrained by supernatural forces to select Aidan, but, as a "natural man," this founder of our State was for a time his persistent opponent. Among the books which Professor Story might have consulted and might have added to his list of authorities is Greith's *Geschichte der altirischen Kirche*, which gives a concise account of the position of the bishop in the Celtic Church. In the same way, when dealing with the Culdees, he might have named Ebrard's work, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche*. The translator of Bellesheim's *History* speaks of Ebrard's "baseless assertions" regarding the identity of the Culdees with the Columban monks, and these assertions might at least have been noticed. Ebrard, in the introduction to the above work, has an interesting discussion and ingenious theory regarding the origin and significance of the term Culdee, which are worthy of consideration. Professor Story asserts that there is ever a controversy whether the word means *servus dei* or *cultor dei*, and against this may be placed the statement, *Die einzig richtige und einzig mögliche Ableitung ist und bleibt daher die von cèle "der Genosse, der Mann" und De "Gott."* Ebrard quotes instances to prove that *Viri Dei* is simply the Latin translation of *celi-De*.

Professor Story describes John Knox as "next to Columba the most striking figure and most creative influence in Scottish history;" and in a ludicrous sentence, by way of characterization, he tells us that "Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, who drove her inhospitable spike through the temples of her sleeping guest, was in his eyes a nobler type of womanhood than Mary with her box of ointment, which was not sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor." Dealing with the Reformation period the lecturer affirms that at first, and for a few years after 1560, the ceremony of laying on of hands at ordination was disused. Another lecturer, the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D. (vide, "The Historical Continuity of the Church of Scotland:" *Scottish Church Society Conferences, First Series*), declares that "it would require clear proof that they (the Reformers) laid aside this ceremony at all." Lecturers differ. Professor Story does not explain the significance of the ceremony of laying on of hands while describing it as of Apostolic usage, but he makes certain remarkable assertions. He says that Knox and the other authors of the

First Book of Discipline were under the impression that the Apostles by the imposition of hands imparted some miraculous gift—"a superstition they ought to have rid themselves of." Are the bishops of the Church of England guilty of the same superstition? In the Church of England "Form of ordering of priests" the bishop and the priests are to lay their hands upon everyone that receiveth the order of priesthood, and the bishop is to say "Receive the Holy Ghost." This ceremony is according to the Catholic custom and law of the pre-Reformation period. Professor Story refers us to the ordination of Joshua—he was not ordained to a spiritual office—in whom the Spirit was already present before Moses placed his hands on him. The conclusion from this reference is that the presence of the Spirit in men receiving ordination is the reason for the use of the ceremony of laying on of hands. Attention is next drawn to 1 Tim. iv. 14, where, Professor Story says, St Paul refers to the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery as the warrant of Timothy's ministry. Knox, it may surely be assumed, knew this text, which sets forth that a *χάρισμα* was imparted with (*μετά*) the laying on of hands; and it may also be assumed that he knew the words of 2 Tim. i. 6, "*Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀναμνησκῶ σε ἀναξωπυρεῖν τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν σοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου.*" In these two texts there is no reference to the imposition of hands having taken place because of the indwelling of the Spirit in Timothy; but there is distinct reference to the Apostle imparting something along with, or by means of, the laying on of hands. Knox's impression, after all, may not have been a superstition, and there may have been some reason in his words, "Albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary."

Professor Story's idea of the Scottish Church of the present day is that it has been transformed by the spirit of enlightened and liberal progress, and the evidence of this transformation is that it has regained some of the Catholic usages and proprieties. This pious opinion regarding the effect of liberal progress, whatever that is, throws no light on the proprieties. Fortunately, however, we have a high ideal of the function of the Church. "Sectarian sentiment, engendered by long periods of party strife and quarrel over secondary questions, has given place to a healthy conviction, at once devout and patriotic, of the primary necessity of caring for the nation as a whole, and holding her establishment, with all its privileges and endowments, in trust for the general good—moral, intellectual, social—of all the people." For this work the Church requires, it is urged, the restoration of the order of the diaconate and the office of the superintendency. The ecclesiastical organiza-

tion is to be made more complex. We are told that the office of superintendent was "one of the earliest and most carefully devised institutions of the Reformed Church—adapted to be permanent." "There is no reason to believe that those who instituted the office contemplated its early abolition." Principal Lee, David Laing, Principal Cunningham of St Andrews, to take certain of our own historians, judged from the words of the First Book of Discipline that the office was intended to be a temporary one. Professor Mitchell (vide *Our Scottish Reformation*. Brit. and For. Evangel. Rev., 1872), after a careful examination of the questions regarding this office, unhesitatingly concludes that it was not intended to be permanent. In the introductory part of the Book of Common Order, 1556, there is mention of the office-bearers of the Church, and the superintendent is not included in the list. In an edition of this book, printed in Edinburgh in 1662, certain changes were made, but the office of superintendent was not mentioned. It may be urged that the superintendency was an office and not an order, and was therefore not named. In the ecclesiastical scheme of Alasco, from which Knox most probably adapted the idea of the superintendent, this office is a permanent one—"Superintendentis seu inspectoris ministerium—Graeci Ἐπισκοπήν vocant—esse divinam ordinationem in Christi ecclesia, per ipsummet Christum Dominum inter ipsos etiam Apostolos institutam, dum Petro confirmandi reliquos fratres in fide provinciam peculiariter demandaret." (Opp. ii. 57.) One may argue, accordingly, that the words of the First Book of Discipline were intended to signify that the office was not to be permanent as in Alasco's scheme, but was to continue during the planting of the Reformed Church. It has been asserted (Conf. Sprott's *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*) that the fact that the minutes of the General Assembly for many years show that money was demanded for the support of the superintendents is proof that the office was recognized as permanent. In 1574 money was asked for this purpose; but from the "concordat" of 1572 and the Assembly minutes of 1574 it is evident that the planting of the Church, a part of the work for which the superintendents were appointed, was not yet finished. Professor Story has the right to argue in favour of an increase of the offices of the Church. It is not certain that he is entitled to say that the office of superintendent was "one of the most carefully devised institutions of the Reformed Church—adapted to be permanent."

Prof. HERKLESS,

**Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.**

Von. D. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig. *Erster Teil*, 558 S. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1887; *Zweiter Teil*, 757 S. Leipzig, 1890; *Dritter Teil, erste Hälfte: Konsolidierung der deutschen Kirche*, S. 1-388. Leipzig, 1893; *Zweite Hälfte: das Uebergewicht des Königtums in der Kirche u. der Bruch desselben durch Rom*, S. 389-1042. Leipzig, 1896. 3 vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Price, M.35.

THOUGH Dr Hauck's volumes deal in the main with German Church matters, they will be welcomed and appreciated beyond the boundaries of Germany, and will soon find a place on the shelves of English students of history. They are a performance of the first rank. Of their intrinsic merits there is but one voice among German critics. They pronounce it an epoch-making work, which recalls the former glories of German scholarship. Since the first volume was published in 1887, every new instalment has been considered an event in German historiography, and all who take an interest in historical research seem to be agreed that no other work on the period in question will stand comparison with the book presented to us by Dr A. Hauck.

In writing the History of the German Church Hauck has taken up the work of Rettberg and other writers, and has outdone them all. With a master's hand he builds the great structure of the national and religious forces of his country, while his forerunners had to content themselves with the work of the carrier. The author is a man who commands his subject as no one before him has done—a scholar of wide knowledge, critical power, and, at the same time, a gifted writer. He excels in the art of vivid representation and refined characterisation. On the other hand, the learning witnessed to by every page, the care with which the materials are collected and sifted, the skill with which they are arranged, the comprehensiveness of his views of history, his power of generalisation, and his insight into the ruling ideas of epochs, make his volumes certain of a foremost place among historical works. Though the reader may not always be inclined to go with the author the whole length of his argument, he will appreciate the art which he displays in handling his material, and in removing the difficulties he had to overcome in describing most turbulent times and handling the intricate questions of the relation between Church and State; nor were these difficulties diminished by the men who crossed his way, king and pope, prince and duke, abbot, monk, and burgher. For a long time to come his book will be the best authority on German Church affairs up to the twelfth century.



In the three volumes under review the problem to be solved by the author assumes different forms, though the same line of thought runs through them. I shall try to make this clear, first by giving a brief account of the contents of each volume, and then by gathering up the threads of the tissue of events.

In the first volume, the beginnings of Christian life along the borders of the Rhine, among the Alemanni, Burgundians, and Franks, are given, together with the organisation and development of the Anglo-Saxon mission under Bonifacius and his helpers. The second goes on to sketch the Frankish Church as an independent State Church which, through the strong hands of Pepin and Charles the Great, declined to obey the dictation of the Pope in Rome. In the latter part of this volume the beginnings of the Papal supremacy over the civil power are described. In a chapter of special interest, the history of the monachism of the period and that of the literary movement from the death of the great Carolingian are also given. Thus the reader is presented with the picture of a State Church which, in spite of differences neither few nor small in minor details, presents, on the whole, and for the first time, definite and characteristic tendencies in the direction of self-government. The third volume, dedicated to Dr Luthardt, the venerable Senior of the Theological faculty in Leipzig, is divided into two parts. Under the general head of the Consolidation of the German Church, the former treats of the history of the Church under Henry I. and Otto I., their relation to the bishopric, the antagonism between bishop and duke, the foundation of the territorial power, the history of missions among the Wends, Bohemians, and Poles, the renewal of ecclesiastical connexions between Emperor and Pope, and the foundation of national churches in the East of Germany. It winds up with a fine description of the rise and cultivation of letters and arts, the decline of monasticism, and the first traces of a reformation of the cloister. In the second part, the story of the ascendancy of the king's power in the Church and the final rupture with the Papacy is told, beginning with a delineation of the anti-papal policy of Henry II. and Konrad II., the rise of monachism, the reforms of Henry III., and closing with the papal attempts to regain the former power over the German rulers. Through the prudent and vigorous policy of Nicolaus II., Damasus, and Gregory VII., these efforts became successful against the civil power.

In vigorous and graphic terms Hauck relates the passionate struggle of the German Church for her life and for a national form, which seemed denied to her by the ambitious and indomitable self-will of a foreign power. The reader will be impressed by the story of the struggle of this Church to preserve her inner forces, and

exert them efficiently with a view to the religious mission of the German nation. The contrast of tendencies implied in the antagonism of the two contending powers appears to have become traditional. Its germs go back to the attempts of Pepin and Charles the Great to maintain the Frankish Church as a continuation of the Merovingian State Church and to decline the reception of any definite influence upon her at the hands of the Pope. In view of this much discussed tendency, and in the face of the very numerous recent discussions on Pepin's "promises" to the curia, the reader will readily understand that the "*allerneueste Stand der Forschung*" is not given by Hauck. In the course of years the decline of the national power, still represented in the Church policy of a powerful German king, began to make itself felt. What had been gained by former kings, slipped out of the feeble hands of weaker successors. The Roman pontiff, exalting himself over the secular power, put his hand upon the king's domain, and under this foreign usurpation all movements of ecclesiastical and religious life in the nation were crushed; the Church in Germany began to lose her ground; her influence upon the government, the teaching, the administration of justice, and the social life, which, just at that time, had entered a new phase of development, under the auspices of the new order declined and was soon crushed. The tendency of the age ran in the direction of a "dissolution of the State Church." In consequence of this new departure the Church of the young king-emperor was not able to retain her powerful position of former times, as in the glorious reign of Pepin and his great son. The reason of the decline was, in the first place, the absence of a traditional, national ambition, all such aspirations having been destroyed by Bonifacius and his Romish Church policy; in the second, the want of an energetic and steadfast ruler on the throne; and in the third place, the extraordinary rise of the Papal power, concurrent with the decay of imperial influence. Here Hauck seems to be at his best. He finely sketches the new problem which the German king had to face, one quite different from the ways of former German policy. When the king tried to push back the Papal encroachments, and to gain a ruling hand in his Church and her affairs, he failed. The relation of the bishops to the king's "*Kanzlei*" becomes totally changed. The prelates, who were frequently and urgently needed by the German ruler as a counter-balance to the ambitious plans of dukes, princes, and feudal lords, made the best of the opportunity now offered to them, and were successful in forcing the king to reward them with secular privileges for their assistance in his struggle against the lords of the land, and thus to raise their influence in the realm to a dangerous pitch.

The last instalment of the work takes the reader into the heat

of the passionate combat raging between King and Pope, a struggle that is engaged in by both for the rule of the world. The tendency of the national forces in the period described in this part of the book (A.D. 911-1122) turned upon the attempt to overcome the difficulties arising now from two sides, from the papal and the feudal antagonism to the sovereign of the land, to make the German Church serve as a means to awaken and to foster the strong religious impulses peculiar to the German "Volksseele," and to strengthen the political, social and religious development of both government and nation against papacy and feudalism. The final result of Henry's efforts was not very encouraging, depending as it did on the amount of personal energy, steadfastness of character, and clear-sightedness on the part of the German rulers, and, to a great degree, on the changes in the general state of affairs. The friend of national liberty sighs to find that, just in the century preceding that of Henry IV., when a powerful ruler, Otto I., attempted to put the old government upon a new basis of right and power, the Church did not answer the expectations which the German king had a right to cherish. Thus it happened that, when in the eleventh century the decisive struggle between King and Pope was at hand, the German Church obeyed the dictation of the Romish priest, changed into an instrument of Gregory, and disappointed the national hope in the momentous hour of the crisis. *It was the Church that sapped the national unity for centuries.*

The way in which the story of this great duel is told in these volumes captivates the reader. According to Hauck, Henry II. is unjustly called the "Black," that is, the weak and facile servant of the Church. In reality he was the strong though pious master of his Church and her prelates, favouring and promoting them at his pleasure, for his ends, and so long as they continued obedient to him. But while Konrad II. and Henry III. followed in the main in his track, the symptoms of a sudden change made their appearance during the reign of these monarchs. Monachism, from the date of the Cluniac Reformation, rose in power, and won at last decisive influence on the policy of St Peter's Chair, until, in Gregory VII., it reached the height of its power. The struggle between a Pope, at once mighty, ambitious and clear-sighted, and a King, still a child and a plaything of a woman's ambition, had its turn, and the final outcome of the long conflict was the victory of the Pope. He emancipated the papacy from the hand of the civil power. For fifty years this battle was fought by arms and pen. Henry IV. went a sinful offender and, at the same time, a cunning politician, to Canossa. He stooped to conquer. As a penitent he asked the Pope's pardon, but he returned to Germany a victor. When Henry, as Hauck describes the dramatic scene, "stood at

the doorway in Canossa waiting for the word of his adversary, he was in one respect stronger than at any former period of his reign. In the beginning of his rule he had governed his kingdom as a child puts in motion a machine; in time he had learnt that every ruler with a great and distinct aim is able to attain something. What he had overlooked up to this moment was this, that one's aim must be an attainable aim. Now for the time he had a plan; its issue was certain, when he carried it through. And Henry was now resolved to come to an end with it. Neither the remonstrances of his Italian partisans, nor the tarrying of Gregory, prevailed with him. At the door of Canossa he proved himself a man. "Es mochte Etwas wie Freudigkeit durch seine Seele ziehen, während er auf Gregors Entscheidung harrete; denn wenn er auch nicht zu siegen vermochte, er vermochte doch den Gegnern in dem Momente den Sieg zu entwinden, in dem sie glaubten ihn ergriffen zu haben. *The day of Canossa was no victory of the Pope. Gregory had also his victory, but it came only when he died an exile.*"

Hence the result of events in the eleventh century, in the deadly battle between King and Pope, came to this: though in the continuation of the struggle between the unscrupulous and reckless Henry V. and Gregory's more feeble successor on St Peter's chair, an agreement was arrived at, the victory of the vanquished was the end of the combat. The imperial power had to succumb.

This must suffice. Dr Hauck's book is sure to retain its place for a long time to come as our highest authority on the history of the German Church during these six centuries. The work is without a rival in this domain of German literature. Fresh and original, Hauck always writes "with his eye upon his object." He has thus succeeded in producing a work of profound interest to all students of German Church history, of the greatest value alike in its method and its conclusions, and certain to command the warm and sincere admiration of reader and scholar. RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

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### The Sacred Books of the Old Testament: The Book of Genesis.

*Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours exhibiting the composite structure of the book. With notes by the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 4to, pp. 120. Price, M. 7.50.*

THE critical problems of Genesis have been definitely solved so far as anything can be said to be final in Biblical criticism. Therefore

the task undertaken by Mr Ball is in this respect far less formidable than that which Prof. Cornill has attempted in his excellent edition of Jeremiah, contributed to this series, which I characterised in the recent January number of the *Critical Review*. Dr Cornill would himself recognise that in the results which he has so clearly set forth in that work, much more is disputable than in those which Mr Ball has here presented in his rainbow-tinted text. The reason may best be stated in Dr Cornill's own words, written in response to the recent inquiries of Mr Stead: "I regard it as one of the most important problems to make the Bible intelligible to the pious layman, and thereby to bring it humanly near to him. You ask if the results are sufficiently secure and settled to justify an endeavour of this kind. To this I answer for the Pentateuch unconditionally 'Yes.' In the case of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, research is still in mid-stream, and the universally recognised results are too few."

This striking difference is due to two main causes—(1) The narrative in Genesis reveals its composite character more readily than other sections of Biblical literature, e.g., Isaiah xl.-lxvi., (2) The problems of the Higher Criticism were first seriously investigated in Genesis, and in consequence definite results have been secured here sooner than in the later attempted and less frequented regions.

Let the student of Pentateuchal criticism take up Nöldeke's brilliant, and now almost forgotten, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T.*, and compare his conspectus of passages assigned to the Grundschrift (=P) in Genesis, set forth on p. 143, and he will be surprised and gratified to find what a vastly preponderating proportion of the results of literary analysis, published by the Kiel Professor in 1869, has stood the test of all the fiery trial of the last three decades. Notwithstanding the great change of opinion respecting the date of P, the relative chronological order of the documents, and the evolution of Hebrew religion and law, with which the labours of Kuenen and Wellhausen have made us familiar, it is highly satisfactory to observe that in the domain of literary analysis so much in the contributions made by the earlier scholars has remained unshaken. In face of the statement recently made by Dr Wace (*Review of Reviews*, Feb. 1897) that "he disbelieves entirely in the so-called results of the Higher Criticism," and by the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, that "such results are by no means permanent; this rainbow-hued Bible will be as changeful as the kaleidoscope, and about as useful," it is worthy of special note that out of about 350 complete verses in Genesis (as nearly as it is possible to compute), assigned by Nöldeke to the so-called *Grundschrift* in 1869, only thirty verses are attributed by recent critics to other documents (chiefly J<sub>2</sub>). In other words, nearly



thirty years of searching investigation leave fully nine-tenths of the results previously achieved unshaken in one—and that the most important—department of the field. The following list of divergences between Nöldeke's conclusions and those presented in Ball's rainbow-text will not be without interest. I mention the passages included by Nöldeke in the Grundschrift which Ball assigns to other sources :—x. 13-19, 25-30 ; xi. 28-30, attributed to J<sub>2</sub> or the later stratum of the Jehovist document (650 B.C.). Also xxii. 20-24 ; xxv. 1-6, 11b, 18a are likewise attributed to the same document (J<sub>2</sub>) in accordance, in the main, with the results set forth by Kuenen, Wellhausen and Cornill. On the other hand, xxxv. 20 Ball (following most critics) assigns to E, while xxix. 28b-29 and xlv. 19-20 are attributed to either P or P redacted, which are not included in this document by Nöldeke.<sup>1</sup> Surely these form but a slight sum-total of critical *debris* after the incessant storm and stress of more than two complete decades.

Students of Budde's careful investigations of the earlier chapters of Genesis will be glad to possess the main results which he has achieved in Ball's Hebrew Text, though not quite in the form in which Budde has given them. In Mr Ball's edition the earlier floodless Jehovist document (circ. 850 B.C.) is represented in darker red—while the lighter colour gives the later stratum. It is creditable to the scientific candour of the late Prof. Dillmann, that though he dismissed the analysis of J and E into different strata, with a scornful remark in 1880 (Preface to his commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, p. vii.), in the last edition of his Commentary on Genesis (1892) p. 88 foll. he does full justice to the labours of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Budde in the analysis of J. In his remark upon chap. iv. he says : "It cannot be held to form a complete unity. With respect to the relation of verses 25 foll. to 17-24, we can hardly assume that a writer would spontaneously place the Sethite and Cainite (genealogical) tables, in which practically the same names recur, alongside of one another without being bound by a pre-existent document. Then, again, in comparing 17-24 with 2-16, there is a striking contradiction between Cain as the builder of cities, and Cain as the roving fugitive in uncultivable lands, without any hint as to how the contradictions are to be solved. This is not the way in which a single historian would write. It is not enough to account for the differences by referring them to oral tradition (Riehm, *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1885, p. 762), since the author would have been able to smooth the differences over." Nevertheless, Dillmann does not adopt the solution suggested by the younger critics, on account of the similarities in style










<sup>1</sup> Respecting Ball's questionable attribution of sections of chap. xxxiv. to a later stratum of P, I shall speak later.

and language which characterize J as a whole, though he admits that that solution is intelligible. But those who have followed Dillmann in his admissions will hardly regard his own proposals as a better working hypothesis, *e.g.*, the attribution of Gen. iv. 17-24 to redactorial insertion is not a happy suggestion. It is quite true that verse 24 is not improbably a reminiscence of verse 15, but verse 24 may quite reasonably be regarded as due to another and older form of the story which not improbably existed in place of the narrative 1-16.

We think, therefore, that Old Testament scholars have good reason to be grateful to Mr Ball for his clear presentment of the more recent results of criticism, attained during the last twenty years, whereby the earlier were discriminated from the later strata of the Jehovist narrative. On some points in other departments of the field Ball's results appear to me extremely doubtful. The archaic traces in Genesis xiv. are inconsistent with its wholesale ascription to an exilian "Midrashic" source. The discoveries in Tell el Amarna have turned our eyes to earlier sources of Babylonian influence and tradition than those which operated in the days of the exile. The treatment of this chapter can scarcely be regarded as satisfactory. Apparently Schrader's brilliant combination of Hammurabi with Amraphel, and the well-known identification of Eriaku with Arioch,<sup>1</sup> to which Fried. Delitzsch gave his cordial assent ten years ago, are not considered worthy of mention. Even the identification of כדורלעמר with Kudur-Lagamar is ignored.

With respect to chap. xxxiv. the ascription of considerable sections to a later stratum of P (brown) appears to us a very questionable proceeding.

In reference to the commentary as a whole, we can speak with hearty commendation. The emendations in the text, as a rule, are made with caution and judgment, but the suggestions are not always happy in difficult or corrupt passages, and sometimes solutions already proposed are too summarily dismissed, *e.g.*, Kautzsch-Socin's on xxii. 14, where the substituted interpretation appears far fetched. On xvi. 1 or xxi. 9 we expected to see some reference to Winckler's ingenious combination of מַצְרִית with *mât mušri* near Edom (*A.T.liche Forsch.*, p. 168, *Altorient. F.*, i. p. 24). Like-

<sup>1</sup> See Schrader, COT. ii. p. 296 foll., in which I have translated the most important parts of the essay of the Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. histor. Classe, 1887. See also Schrader's two subsequently published essays (in the Sitzungsberichte), Ueber Ursprung Sinn und Aussprache des altbabylonischen Königsnamens 1         

(I'rim-Aku) March 29, 1894, and Ueber einen orientalischen Herrschernamen, Octob. 24, 1895.

wise on אֶכְל עֵפֶר in iii. 27, Winckler's suggestive comparison of *ti-ka-lu ipra* from the Tell el Amarna tablets (*Altorient. Forsch.*, iii. 291), as an expression of dishonour or disgrace, was worthy at least of a passing mention. On the other hand, if we regard the serpent of this narrative as resembling the Arabian Jinn, *ahl el ard* or earth-folk inhabiting the under-world (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. pp. 136, 259), we might compare line 8 of the Descent of Ištar to Hades *ašar ipru . . . bubussunu akalšunu tūtu*. On xvi. 5 Haupt's Arabic parallel *dain li 'aléka* is most apposite. I would suggest that to שִׁרְיָה נַעַל of Gen. xiv. 23 a useful parallel might be borrowed from the Arabic illustrations given by Ignaz Goldziher in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* vii. Dec. 1892, p. 296. Respecting the much discussed xlix. 10, the suggestion of שָׁלַם for שָׁחַ (until he comes to Salem) is ingenious, but apart from Gen. xiv. 18, which is considered by Mr Ball to be late,<sup>1</sup> can any example of this abbreviated name for Jerusalem be cited in pre-exilic literature? Jeremiah xli. 5, LXX [xlvi. 5] Σαλῆμ is valueless for this purpose. Salem is not adopted by Cornill in his reconstructed text of the prophet, and if it were, the pre-exilic origin of the passage is somewhat doubtful. The longer form of the name we know, from the inscriptions of Tell el Amarna, to have been more ancient than the age of Moses. From Mr Ball's critical standpoint, which regards chap. xlix. as early Jehovist and Gen. xiv. as exilic Midrash, it would be difficult to recommend his reading. It would be different if, following Wellhausen and Cornill, he regarded verse 10 as a late insertion, or if we render (as suggested) "scatheless."

Much as I value the learning displayed in this commentary, there are many things which provoke adverse criticism. In the first place the long dissertation on Zimmermann's article "Der Jacobssegen und der Tierkreis," *ZA.* vii. 2, p. 161, is wholly out of place in a commentary which ought not to be made a receptacle for review articles. Secondly, Assyrian philology occupies a somewhat disproportionate place. Respecting Dr Haupt's ingenious suggestion on iv. 1 (Addenda) where he renders אֵת יְהוָה "just as well as Jehovah" or "in spite of Jeh.," *i.e.*, although God had commanded Adam and Eve not to eat of the forbidden fruit (of sexual intercourse), I would merely remark in default of the fuller statement of evidence (which I have not yet had the opportunity of seeing) that (1) the sense given to אֵת is hazardous. (2) If Mr Ball's critical results are correct, iv. 1 belongs to J<sub>2</sub>. Is it therefore certain that ii. 17, iii. 3, 16 of the earlier stratum were in the mind of the writer?

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

<sup>1</sup> This may be true of verses 18-20.

**Les Protestants d'Autrefois: Vie Interieure des Églises;  
Mœurs et Usages.**

*Par Paul de Félice, Pasteur. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1896.  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 16mo,  
pp. xvii. 291.*

WE do not wonder at the wistful look, the admiring regret, with which the enlightened members of the Reformed Church of France recall their "autrefois." The dawn of their Church was bright and promising almost beyond example among the Churches of the Reformation; with such ministers as Calvin and such laymen as Coligny, and a great following from the *élite* of society and the best of the bourgeoisie, the Reformed Church of France seemed more likely than any other to hold the foremost rank among the Churches of Europe. But sheer brutal violence brought an awful change. A corrupt Court and a demoralised Church, like the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, were bent on strangling the young cause, and to effect their object neither of them shrank from any device of devilish violence and cunning. The ball opened, we may say, with the Massacre of St Bartholomew, and with little interruption, the infernal orgies went on till they culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the murder or banishment of hundreds of thousands of the best citizens of France. We do not know on what authority the figures rest which Jonathan Edwards, in his *History of Redemption*, gives as the statistics of French martyrdom, but, according to him, within thirty years of the time (A.D. 1572), when the Massacre of St Bartholomew was perpetrated, there were martyred 39 princes, 148 counts, 234 barons, 147,518 gentlemen, and 760,000 common people. Whatever discount these figures may have to undergo, it is evident that there must be not a few French souls, now crying "How long" from beneath the altar, who are destined to partake in the glory of the first resurrection. Who of us, at this distance, can estimate the thrilling, pathetic, inspiring force of these memories on the sons and daughters who now represent that once glorious but cruelly massacred Church of former days? Little wonder that they take much pains to keep alive the deeds and virtues of their fathers. No fewer than forty-four volumes issued between 1853 and 1896, by the "Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français," attest the pious reverence of the children for their martyred ancestors. And, in addition to these, various local documents of interest have been brought before the public, with new editions of Daniel Benoit's *Histoire des Martyrs* (the Fox's *Acts and Monuments* of France), and historical summaries, larger and smaller, for all classes and various ages.

The work of which we have given the title belongs to this class.

Its author, inheriting the historical taste of his father, the late Professor de Félice, of Montauban, has set himself the task of reproducing the inner life, manners, and customs of the old Reformed Church of France, from 1559, the date of the first National Synod, to 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, but more particularly from 1598 to 1685. As the author says, it is not a dramatic history, but rather a series of photographs forming an album of "*autrefois*." The whole work is to be comprised in four volumes. Taking the churches, or "*temples*," as the starting point, we are to get, in the first place, information about the public worship of the Church, and the religious life of the people generally and their children. The second volume is to treat of the pastors, their public or official duty, and their more private life in the family and in society. The third is to reveal the operations and ways of ecclesiastical assemblies, synods, "*colloques*," and consistories, dwelling especially on the consistory, in its three principal functions—ecclesiastical, charitable, and disciplinary. The fourth will be devoted to the treatment of the young—their education in the family, school, college, and academy.

It is the first of these four volumes that is now before us, treating of all that was connected with the "*temple*," as the Protestants were accustomed to call their church, while their enemies would speak of it as their "*place d'exercice*," or meeting-house—as high Churchmen speak of "*the Kirk*." On the very face of this subject—the general religious life of the people, as regulated by the Church—we are struck with the strictness, we might almost say sternness, of the regulations. Much of that rigidity which is often thought to have been the peculiar characteristic of old Scottish Presbyterianism, was equally true of the ways of the French Church. Their churches were extremely plain; such a thing as an architectural building was unknown; there were no images or statues; a spire was very rare; and the use of the cross in connection with the building was strongly discouraged. Even so late as the year 1884, M. de Félice finds a publication in which the question is discussed: "*Les croix, sont elles des idoles?*" Corresponding to this simplicity was the dress and appearance of the people. The flower-gardens that we see in our churches planted on the tops of ladies' hats without number at the present day, would not have been tolerated for an instant. Even the wife of so distinguished a man as M. du Plessis-Mornay, was refused a token, and prevented from communicating, because she had "*des fils d'archal dans les cheveux*."

The same strictness characterised the keeping of the Lord's day. People were required to be very regular in church, morning and afternoon, and if they were negligent in this, they were subjected



to discipline. Pastors and elders were required to prevent persons from coming on Communion occasions who did not attend church at other times. The Communion was dispensed four times every year, but with this peculiarity, that after the first dispensation it was repeated on the next Lord's day, with the object of allowing all to attend, so that there were really eight Communion-Sundays, and many of the earnest people communicated at all the times. So earnestly was it desired to accommodate all, that the very coachmen and others, who might be detained outside, were specially provided for. Private Communion was greatly discouraged, if not absolutely forbidden; if, in the case of persons long bed-ridden, it was desired, some of the elders had to accompany the pastor, so that it should fulfil its purpose as an ordinance of Communion, and not merely of individual benefit. It was strongly urged on the people that on the way to and from the church they should cherish devout thoughts, and either sing psalms, or engage in serious conversation. All amusement, all reading of secular books, all that drew the heart to earth, was condemned; indeed, so far as the early French Church was concerned, the "Continental Sunday" was rigidly and wholly Sabbatarian. The "Token," or emblem of the right to communicate, called "*Méreau*," or "*Mareau*," was introduced very early. Some pains have been taken to ascertain the origin of this practice. It is believed to go back to the Middle Ages, and among other purposes, the token (which is a small medal, like a coin, made of lead) became a badge of pilgrims, and was employed by them to obtain hospitality at religious houses, being an evidence of Christian profession. Without a "token," no one could go to the Lord's Table. The practice was not revived after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but in the Church of the French Refugees at Berlin it was in use at least as late as 1873. It is singular that an attempt of Calvin to make use of the token at Geneva was not successful; but it was introduced without difficulty in the Church of France. Strange to say, unpleasantness would sometimes arise from certain persons not being served with the Communion elements so early as their rank seemed to require. Questions of etiquette as to precedence would not unfrequently disturb the harmony of congregations. Nor were they free from discussions on "*Communion Wine*," for there were persons who had "*une invincible répugnance pour le vin*."

At funerals all religious service was forbidden, in order completely to discourage the idea of praying for the dead. Even when so distinguished persons as the Duchesse de la Trémoille and her daughter died, their remains were carried to the family vault without any religious service. This practice exposed the Protestants to very cutting reproaches from their opponents, and, indeed, it was

felt by themselves to be carrying rigidity too far. As in Scotland, a simple service at funerals was introduced, but it was specially provided that it should be in the house, and not at the grave.

Similar strictness characterised the arrangements of the daily life. The people were exhorted to offer each a short prayer on awaking, then to pray morning and evening, to have family worship, and to pray at meals, and at the beginning and end of their employments. At mid-day they were to pray again, and in the evening they were to have both personal and family worship. In some cases, it was the practice to have a short service of prayer daily in the churches, but the Church Courts were rather chary of this, fearing that it might interfere with family prayer. In the family of Coligny all these practices were devoutly followed; in addition, it was the practice (as in some other houses) after dinner to sing a psalm and read part of the Scriptures.

The young were earnestly cared for. "Le Catechisme" was the name of an exercise to which they were called between the morning and evening services. This usually lasted for an hour, occasionally two, sometimes even three. They were examined on a portion of the Catechism, and this was indispensable to their admission to the Communion, for which they were counted eligible at the age of twelve. There was also occasionally a "Grande Catechisme," at which all persons, young and old, appear to have been subjected to examination.

These samples must suffice of the kind of information in M. de Félice's volume. The statement of facts is accompanied by ample references to the best authorities. A writer of lively imagination, like the late Mrs Rundel Charles, or Miss Dora Alcock, might weave them into a graphic and brightly coloured dramatic picture of the times. This line M. de Félice has on purpose avoided, his great object being to give literal historical facts. We cannot but trace the influence of Calvin in that elaborate carefulness of the whole habits of the religious life that characterised the early Reformed Churches, alike of France and Scotland. The general sentiment of the present day, no doubt, is that the system was characterised by *trop de rigueur*; but now that we are on the down grade, the question is, where and how are we stop? For there must always be danger in the loosening of old bonds and slackening of old screws. The natural tendency is to greater and greater relaxation, and with a growing tendency to laxity, how is conscience to maintain its grip? M. de Félice's publication is not merely to be welcomed as a contribution to historical research, but as an incentive to his countrymen to the recovery of a measure of that earnestness which marked the early Church of France. We in Scotland have forgotten how closely the two Churches resembled

each other in their early days. It may be useful for us, too, to recall the early earnestness of our own fathers, and the pains they took to make religion the chief business of men's lives. If the choice is to be made between past rigour and careless laxity, there is no difficulty in deciding which should be preferred, although we must still aim at a happy medium.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

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**The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, being an Essay on the Local History of Phrygia, from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest.**

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I., Part II.: *West and West-Central Phrygia*. Clarendon Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. ix. 353-791. Price, 21s. net.

In this further instalment of his *magnum opus* on Phrygia, Professor Ramsay deals with some very important cities and districts, notably Eumeneia, Apameia and Akmonia. It is again ground, with every stone and corner of which the author is thoroughly familiar, and although the materials often seem scanty and trivial enough to the inexperienced, the book is a grand example of the supreme value of minute and thorough exploration and study when undertaken by a master, like Professor Ramsay. For Professor Ramsay is no mere collector of inscriptions, or dry-as-dust scholar and traveller. Besides the genius of taking pains, he has the true historian's insight, and can piece together his evidence, and see its bearing on wide problems, and thus is enabled to arrive at far-reaching and important generalisations.

In this volume Professor Ramsay reaches the most difficult question which he has to treat, viz., the Christian Antiquities of Phrygia. He devotes two chapters (ch. xii. and xvii.) to the subject, and publishes, with annotations, a most important series of inscriptions, some of them hitherto unpublished, which he holds to be early-Christian—i.e., of the third century. It is interesting to note that Professor Ramsay holds that "the progress of our knowledge tends, in general, to push back the dates" which he himself originally ventured to name. What, then, are the criteria available for judging the Christian nature of any Phrygian inscription, and for fixing its date? Professor Ramsay discusses this difficult subject with great fulness and ingenuity. According to him, all the evidence goes to prove that the early Christian converts lived, to all outward appearance, the same life as their pagan neighbours. They did not cut themselves off from culture and

public life, as Aelius Aristides, in the second century, grossly misrepresents them as doing. Whatever the conduct of some extremists may have been, the ordinary Christian of the third century took part in the usual duties and pleasures of life, and none would have found reason to suspect him of Christianity. They seem, indeed, to have been the party of progress in the cities. But their religion was forbidden, and the law condemned any convicted Christian to death. In practice, however, there was a general disposition not to observe Christians, if they conformed outwardly to the law. Hence the aim of the Christians of the second and third centuries was to do nothing to infringe the law, and to "put nothing in public documents, such as their epitaphs, which could be quoted as evidence of Christianity." The formulæ and symbolism they chose were such as would not rouse suspicion; they registered their communities under suitable names, assimilated to the benefit-societies that the law recognised; their feasts and offices bore pagan titles, and they themselves for the most part retained their pagan names. Still there are indications discoverable by the close observer. Even in the third century the beginnings of a Christian nomenclature can be traced. Names were preferred "which, though common to pagans, conveyed a meaning suitable to the new religion, or had been consecrated by some martyr, or in some other way pleased the Christians." Again, "in any case, where the epitaph gives wider admission to the grave, Christian character is probable." Further, where anything differs from the usual type, "wherever anything rises above the ordinary dull level," a suspicion may be entertained. But the distinctive mark on which Professor Ramsay places most reliance is the adjuration at the end of so many epitaphs in Eumeneia, Apameia, Sebaste, Akmonia, &c. The commonest and earliest form is *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. This formula, he holds, "stamps the inscription as Christian," and was introduced in the first half of the third century. Wherever it occurs, or its later variations, there is nothing to suggest paganism, and often other indications of Christian origin are present—*e.g.*, the use of the word *κοιμητήριον* instead of the pagan *ἡρῶν*, or a symbol or name or expression pointing to Christian feeling. It might quite well, however, be used by a pagan, and, in fact, is a slight modification of a pagan form. Such are the only criteria available for the early-Christian epitaphs. Later, of course, when there had grown up a distinctive Christian nomenclature, and Christianity had developed a social system of its own, the problem is comparatively easy. But it is just the second and third century inscriptions that are most important. Here, therefore, it is all a matter of indirect inference. Professor Ramsay is always looking for "meanings hidden beneath the surface," and gives his views as

"only a tentative step in a difficult path." Naturally, when all may be pagan, there will be different opinions as to what may legitimately be labelled Christian, but it will be admitted that Professor Ramsay makes out a strong case for himself, and has made the path easier for his successors.

What, then, are his main conclusions as to the diffusion of Christianity in Phrygia and the relation of the Christian population to their pagan neighbours? Christianity must have been widespread in Phrygia early in the third century. The Christian party was strong in Apameia, Akmonia, Sebaste, Pepouza, the Pentapolis, &c., and dominant in Eumeneia. As regards the history of the Pentapolis, all that is known centres round the name of Avircius Marcellus and the famous "Grabschrift des Aberkios." Professor Ramsay discusses at length his reasons for thinking this inscription Christian. He shows that it was meant to be a public and imperishable protest against Montanism by one of the anti-Montanist leaders; but in deference to the circumstances of the time it had to be framed in such a way as not to be overtly Christian. Dr Ficker has shown that every word in it might have been written by a priest of Cybele, but Professor Ramsay argues that so to consider it shows "failure to conceive the document as a whole." We must look for the esoteric meaning. In a note at the end of the volume he traverses the arguments in Dietrich's later pamphlet. The date assigned to the epitaph is about 192 A.D., probably the earliest Christian inscription we have in Phrygia; and if Ramsay is right, the district must already have been "permeated with Christian influence." Two centuries later Avircius becomes the legendary St Abercius. But it is to Eumeneia that the majority of the early Christian inscriptions belong. We have twenty-six belonging to the third century, while only eleven of the same period are clearly pagan. Thus in the third century Eumeneia must have been largely Christian. In the second century there must have been many Christians, but we can distinguish no Christian inscriptions of that date. Professor Ramsay thinks this was because then "the Christian character was more completely suppressed." He draws a very attractive picture of the life in Eumeneia in the third century. It was a life of quiet prosperity, when Christian and pagan dwelt amicably together. A spirit of concession prevailed. The Christian party were in the ascendant, and many senators and public officials were Christian, but these must have been willing to take part outwardly in the Imperial cultus and many other non-Christian religious forms.

History confirms the impression of the inscriptions, for Eusebius mentions a city of Phrygia in which, about 303 A.D., the entire population was Christian. It is evident from this that "the country



in general must have been very strongly affected by the same religion." But at the end of the third century there is a sudden change, and the centuries following show a marked contrast to the vigorous intellectual and political life of the third century. This Professor Ramsay attributes to the massacre by Diocletian, 303-313 A.D. The Christians were opposed to the Imperial policy of centralisation, and the Government used the revival of a spirit of fanatical paganism to destroy this spirit of freedom. Eumeneia seems to have suffered severely, and may indeed have been the city in Phrygia that Eusebius mentions as having been burned to the ground with its people, even women and children, "calling upon the God who is over all." After the massacre the Church became the opponent of education and culture and individual freedom, instead of the centre of energy and progress and toleration.

Professor Ramsay traces three separate lines along which Christian influence spread in Phrygia in the early centuries. The first has "its ultimate source in St Paul's work in Ephesus" (Acts xix.), and spread from the Ægean coast up the Maeander valley reaching Akmonia and the Pentapolis, Apameia and Pisidian Antioch and Lake Askania; the second "originated in the earlier Pauline Churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch" (Acts xiii. xiv.), and "belongs to Lycaonia and the extreme S.E. district"; while the third belongs to the N.W. Christianity was spread to the Lycos valley by Timothy, Mark, Epaphras, but after that all record is obscure and traditional. Referring to the "North-Galatian theory," Professor Ramsay regards it as controverted by all the facts of Christian development in Phrygia. "The nearer we approach the Galatian frontier, the later are the traces of Christianity. Only near his routes in Lycaonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and along the higher lying road from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus, do we find proof of Christian influence at an early date." Professor Ramsay has unabated confidence in the South Galatian theory, which he has done so much to place in a better position than it ever occupied before. His arguments are ingenious, and some of them have great weight. It would be too much, however, to say that even now the last word is spoken on this interesting question.

But little space remains to notice the many other important subjects dealt with in this volume. The chapter (ch. xv.) on the Jews in Phrygia is full of interest and suggestion. They were a numerous and wealthy and influential class in the Phrygian cities from early times, Akmonia and Apameia were two of their chief centres. Before 70 A.D. they formed a separate self-administering community, but after that the law recognised no distinction between Jews and other provincials. They retained, however, some privileges connected with their religion. They seem to have a ban-

done the exclusive Jewish standard, and we find a Jewess, Julia Severa, even holding the office of High-Priestess in the Imperial cultus. They seem to have become "as completely Romans or Asians as persons of Jewish descent in England now reckon themselves English." In this connection Professor Ramsay publishes some very important inscriptions (note espec. No. 559). The legend of the Flood was localised at Apameia, and the city even had the by-name Kibōtos. Apameian coins show a picture of an ark holding two figures and inscribed ΝΩΕ.

The long chapter on Apameia (ch. xi.) is a splendid piece of work. From its strong and fertile position on the great Eastern Trade-Route this city was one of great importance through many centuries of ancient history. The original foundation was Kelainai, round which clusters many a myth. Here Marsyas discovered the flute and Phrygian music was born. The Lityersis-song is found here, and the myth of Anchouros which is similar to that of Curtius at Rome. Professor Ramsay discusses the topography at great length, and gives a new identification of the different rivers. He sketches in vivid pages its history under the Lydians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, showing how important it was commercially at each stage. Many interesting questions are discussed in connection with the public buildings, religion, and government of the city. Such are the beautiful pictorial coins, pointing to some series of paintings on a public building; the nature and character of the Gerousia, which Professor Ramsay says was a sort of "high class club," designed by the Imperial Government to distract the citizens' attention from political questions; the functions of the Dekaprōtoi, Gymnasiarch and other officials; the relation of Apameia to the Koinon.

Of the other cities, Pepouza is memorable as the cradle and chief centre of Montanism, and Professor Ramsay accepts M. Radet's suggestion that Justinianopolis is a late foundation on the same site. Sebaste is interesting for the traces we find of the old Anatolian village system. At Akmonia, for the first time in Phrygia, the college of Hymnodoi is mentioned, a body having to do with the musical part of the native cultus, but also, probably, having a social side. And throughout this most valuable volume there is a wealth of scattered material, shedding light on the primitive nature-worship, the Imperial Government and cultus, and other great subjects. But an index is much needed. The volume is enriched by a general map of West-Central Phrygia, a map of the Upper Maeander valley, a plan of Apameia, two plates of Phrygian coins, and several sketches of tombstones, statues, and rock sculptures.

J. L. SALMOND.

### Gli Evangelii Sinottici : Realtà O Invenzione ?

*Studii di Raffaele Mariano. Seconda Edizione. Roma : Loescher & Co., 1896 ; London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. xl. 206. Price, L.5.*

THE interrogative part of the above title recalls the famous *Historisch oder Mythisch ?* of Ullmann, and in many respects this new work by Mariano may be described as an extension or modern application of Ullmann's argument. The purpose of the book is to assist in awakening or deepening a real faith in the trustworthiness of the synoptic gospels as historical records. The author belongs to that branch of the Hegelian school which has been led in Italy by Vera. The signs of his philosophical leanings are often apparent, and in accordance with them there is an uncompromising assertion of the rights of reason, and of the place of doctrine in religion, as against modern denials or dilutions. At the same time it is obvious that he has felt the influence of recent empirical thought. His aim, as has been indicated, is practical. He takes as a motto for the heading of his Introduction the confession of Goethe that the Christian religion is a mighty power by itself for the elevation of suffering humanity, and in virtue of that efficacy is exalted above all philosophy, and needs no support from it, that the sciences may all advance to an indefinite extent, but beyond the religion and morality that gleam and lighten from the gospels men can never go. Further, it is maintained, in agreement with the thought of our time, that for our knowledge of Christ we have no data except those supplied by the Scriptures.

The author's task consists largely in giving a criticism of recent criticism. He speaks with marked disapproval of the work of Renan. For the synoptic question he may be supposed to refer chiefly to *Les Évangiles*, and certainly a perusal of that volume shows the strangest medley of assertions and denials, positive and reassuring affirmations as to the character and work of Jesus and the Gospel-writers, followed up in every case by statements in the very opposite sense. It was lately said of some one that he was not clear-headed enough to frame an untruth ; and the charge made here against Renan is that his thought is excessively weak, that he will not definitely take up the negative position so as to be responsible for its implications. He would settle questions which are the most momentous for humanity with a shrug. However, his statements, as destroying each other, come to nothing. The opinion is expressed that his critical and historical works, in spite of their exquisite literary charm, will only influence the half-educated classes, and that but for a while. They cannot live.

The method which Mariano himself follows in arguing for the credibility of the Synoptics resolves itself into two branches, and we give the gist of his results. The one branch may be called formal, the other and more important, the material. The formal argument is concerned with the mode of composition of the Gospels. There is a lengthened examination of the agreements and differences between the Synoptics; and the trustworthiness of the books is inferred from the fact that while it is clear there had been prior records in writing which were utilised in the canonical Gospels, those earlier documents must be assigned to the very commencement of the Apostolic age. The Church, as she proceeded with her work of evangelisation, must have felt at the very outset the necessity of giving forth a definite and precise (*i.e.* written) message. Otherwise, from the nature of things, there would have been immediate strife and confusion, fatal to progress, as different disciples presented different interpretations of the discourses of Christ, and found a different complexion and import even in the facts of His life. As, then, the Synoptics have for their foundation, as one main part of it at least, checking or confirming the oral tradition, the records of eye-witnesses who wrote while they had still a clear recollection of the subject-matter, one indispensable condition of credibility is satisfied. Further, though their authors were not mere amanuenses, but men of active, spiritual mind, who selected, combined and applied their materials, there is no evidence at all that they added anything new and strange, or made such applications as would have turned Christianity into something different from what it was essentially and originally. On the contrary, the Gospels we possess agree together in their whole scope and message—giving *a* synopsis—and the divergences and differences only serve to show the amplitude and boundless richness of the Christian revelation.

The main problem, however, the material question, still remains. Granting that the things related by our Evangelists are not a late invention of their own, we still must ask—Are the things in themselves really true? The answer is that the mighty sweep of Christian history and progress, the transformation of the world by a new and higher life, demands the revelation in the Gospels as a necessary and sufficient cause. This revelation is the announcement that God is the Father of men, a truth which is made a reality in Christ the Incarnate Son of God, and that through Christ, as Mediator and Redeemer, every individual person may rise above sin and all earthly misery, and experience the blessings of the Kingdom of God. But, again, the very fact that the new teaching was able to gain a foothold and live, presupposes a nexus between it and the existing Jewish thought. Now, what chiefly

characterised the contemporary thought was the Messianic expectation. Christ's claim to be the Messiah was not merely attributed to Him by His followers at a late date. Here again the Gospels speak the truth. Had He not made the claim He would not have obtained the following He did. However, if the Messianic idea is the historical basis of Christ's work, it is nothing more; it is sublimated, spiritualised, conformed to the essence of the revelation. The whole nature of His teaching and work as the Son of God, and of His sacrifice of Himself unto death, shows that He had, and knew He had, a redemptive message for all mankind. This truth, announced for the world's good to the disciples, could not but have entered in some measure or degree into their consciousness also. And so the Gospels once more declare the truth when they indicate the universal mission of Christ, as all the three do.

The treatment of the miracles is very unsatisfactory. Beyond allowing that our Lord had done wonderful works of healing, *e.g.*, Mariano will not assent to the historical reality of empirical miracles. The denial comes strangely from one who holds to the constitutive miracle of the Divinity of Christ "in the high, supernatural sense," and to His superhuman knowledge, who points to the world of mystery which science, aided though it be by the potent principle of evolution, finds, and always will find, to be a book sealed with seven seals, who asserts the Fatherhood of God and the absolute power of spirit over nature, and who is constrained to adhere to the traditional creed of the Church! However, this regrettable result is not necessitated by the author's critical method, as the example of Ullmann shows. It is due to a foreign importation, to a philosophical dogmatism which insists that the inviolability of the laws of nature is conclusive in the case.

Other views than that propounded here have been taken of the essence of Christ's work, but they are invalidated by the fact that they give a false reading both of history and of the gospels. For example, many attempt to deprive Christianity of an important part of its substance by expelling doctrine from it, leaving only feeling and action. Harnack is selected as the chief of these, and the criticism on him as a thinker is cogent and pungent, although his almost astounding erudition is frankly acknowledged. It is pointed out that this theory has not even the attraction of novelty. Erasmus, and after him the Deists, taught that the foundations of Christianity do not consist of articles of faith, and that every dogmatic system is an artificial and arbitrary creation. In itself the position is untenable. The Gospel furnishes theological doctrines. For example, the historical Jesus is identified with the Divine Messiah; the truth is declared as to the nature of God and His



kingdom, and as to the nature and destiny of man; and so on. Christianity ought certainly to be personal and subjective; but if it has not also a universal and objective content, if the truth is only yours or mine, so that no one can say what it is in itself, and what *ought* to be believed, it is on the verge of complete disintegration and dissolution. Doctrine and practice are not incompatible; they demand and complete each other. Our relations to the world and our duties to men are only to be determined in the light and by the standard of our relations and duties to God. Christ, it is said, is the object of faith and the common bond. But Christ has been taken to be merely an ascetic, a reformer, and what not. Who is right, and why? Is the measure of Christianity for separate preachers to be their own sermons? If so, they are no better than so many little Popes, and their faith is reposed chiefly in themselves. In answer to the complaint that doctrinal statements speak only to the intellect, and interest only the handful of people who have a turn for metaphysical and theological speculation, Mariano protests in a vigorous passage that on the contrary the truths of faith, clearly seen and firmly grasped, subjugate the heart and will, and sway and agitate them with a mighty force which no other element can command. If one pushes the further objection—Does doctrine, as a matter of fact, as it is embodied in the creeds, appear in that light? the reply would be—No; but nevertheless there is such heart-stirring truth as has been alluded to. Then should the creeds be abolished? That does not follow. It becomes possible to see what position Mariano would have taken in that controversy which burst out recently in Germany, and in which the disputants ranged themselves round these banners, (1) No dogma, (2) A new dogma, (3) The old dogma. Manifestly he would go with the third party. For he points out that if there were no creed, Harnack and his following would have their way, and there would be the disastrous results which have been indicated. Again, it is quite impossible to frame a new symbol which all would accept as containing what is necessary and sufficient. He would therefore let the old creed stand. (As he has been contending with Harnack, he refers, as will be readily understood in the light of recent events, to the Apostles' Creed in particular). But under its shield the fresh and eternal truths which come from Christ and His revelations are free to work their blessed effects among men.

Here, then, an idea which may deserve consideration is suggested by our author on that subject of dogma and creeds which has been exercising men's minds everywhere. The Christian faith we have inherited, like a living tree, has parts of a more external kind which are old, dry, sclerotic; but they have a high value,

and cannot be cut away without harm. They have a connective and preservative function. Along the whole line of the historical growth of doctrine, round the whole circle of traditional dogma, and in close organic connection with it, yet not springing from it, but from a deep, invisible source, there flows a full tide of truth, vitalising and developing the Church. Ever since Christ appeared, His Spirit has been the Teacher of living truth, relative certainly in the past, but not absolute even now. Doubtless Christians have too often placed undue reliance on the mere acceptance of a creed. Harnack has therefore done important work in bringing home to men, by his treatment of dogma, much-needed instruction as to the nature of saving faith. It must be reposed in Christ; it must be personal and practical. But when he goes to an extreme, and seeks to eliminate doctrine from Christianity, all the Gospels and the reason in history are against him. The very existence of the religion would be imperilled by the prevalence of his view. The truth which Christ supplies in the Gospels is doctrinal. Then history shows in dogma the main course and the ramified channels by which the life-giving stream has been conducted to us in such wise that no part of its precious contents is lost. GEORGE FERRIES.

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**Marcus Eremita. Ein neuer Zeuge für das altkirchliche Taufbekenntnis.**

*Eine Monographie zur Geschichte des Apostolikums, mit einer kürzlich entdeckten Schrift des Marcus. Von Lic. Dr. Johannes Kunze. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo., pp. 211. Price, 6s.*

THE author of this valuable monograph, Dr Johannes Kunze, is a young theologian of the Lutheran school, at present teaching at Leipzig, of whom in course of years more is certain to be heard on the field of Church History. It is rarely that one meets with a piece of work so ably and thoroughly—not to say exhaustively—done, as this dissertation on the personality and opinions of a writer well-known in his own time, but to us a singularly nebulous figure of the post-Athanasian period—Marcus Eremita. The occasion of the monograph is the timely discovery in a Jerusalem library of a tractate by this Marcus, bearing to be directed "Against the Nestorians," and recently published with other texts found in the same place by the Greek scholar Papadopoulos-Kerameus (at Petersburg, vol. i., 1891; vol. ii., 1894). The discovery in question is interesting in many ways, partly as throwing light on the personality and views of Marcus himself, partly in its bearing

on the controversies of the age, and not least in the fact that it embodies (c. 23), well-nigh verbally, a form of the ancient Baptismal Confession which seems to be still uninfluenced, or influenced only very slightly, by the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creeds. The present work contains, accordingly, first, the Greek text in full of the newly discovered manuscript, with critical annotations (pp. 6-30), then a series of discussions on Marcus and his writings, on the genuineness and theological standpoint of the new document, on the theology of Marcus as deduced from his writings generally, leading up, finally, to an investigation of the origin, contents, and value of the Baptismal Confession used by Marcus, as it can be reconstructed from the materials given. The closing section sums up the bearings of the whole on the "Apostolicum" controversy which has of late so much agitated Germany. The results under this head are, in the view of the author, the most important outcome of his study.

The traditionary notices about Marcus Eremita are confused in the extreme. The manuscripts of his known writings designate him as ἐρημίτης, ἀναχωρητής, μοναχός, ἀσκητής, and occasionally ἀββάς, but give no details of time or place. Dr Kunze distinguishes two lines of tradition concerning him, one late, but evidently resting on earlier notices, making him a pupil of Chrysostom, and fellow disciple of Isidore of Pelusium and others, probably to be identified with an Abbot Marcus, who is related to have become an anchorite in the desert of Judæa; the other, identifying him with a wonder-working monk of the Scetic desert, likewise named Marcus, who died before the end of the fourth century. It is plain on internal grounds that there is a confusion here, and that two individuals must be distinguished, the former of whom is *prima facie* to be identified with the author of our tractate. This, of course, would be beyond doubt, if the title "Against the Nestorians" could be trusted. The necessity of determining this point leads our author into an elaborate discussion of the theology of Marcus as exhibited in his writings, and particularly into an examination of the type of Christological error combated in the newly-discovered work. The difficulty of connecting it with the polemic against the Nestorians is the absence of all reference to the famous watchword of this controversy, θεοτόκος, while there are occasional terms suggestive of the Chalcedonian symbol, which would almost imply a later date. Still the type of doctrine combated is in other respects so obviously identical with the Nestorian that there will be little difficulty felt in following Dr Kunze in his general conclusion that the document must have originated somewhere about 430 A.D. This agrees with the tradition that Marcus was a scholar of Chrysostom, a relationship which

is further confirmed by the discovery that Marcus unmistakably shows traces of connection with the Antiochian as well as with the Alexandrian type of theology. Dr Kunze, on the basis of other indications, seeks to establish a probability that Marcus was Abbot of the Cloister of Ancyra, in Galatia, and that his Baptismal Confession represents the form in use in the church of that city. The reasonings are not without force, but the conclusion must be pronounced somewhat conjectural.

As respects the Confession itself, considerable pains are taken to produce a complete reconstruction of it, and the main features and language are at any rate given in c. 23 of the text. It is clearly a confession of old standing, and is probably quite independent of Nicene influence. Dr Kunze enters into a careful comparison with the views entertained of the history of the Apostles' Creed by Harnack and Kattenbusch, and decisively separates himself from many of the conclusions of these writers. They have, he thinks, gone entirely astray in overrating the old Roman baptismal symbol, and in regarding it as the source of the other forms in East and West. The East, he contends, had its independent development. Only when this is recognised "can a history of the 'Apostolicum' be written, but no longer as a history of the 'Roman Symbol,' but as a history of the Baptismal Confessions of the ancient Church, in the number of which the Roman Symbol will rank only as one among others, although one of the oldest and most original."

JAMES ORR.

### **Das Classische Heidenthum und die Christliche Religion.**

*Von Dr Franz Hektor Ritter von Arneth. Wien: Konegen, 1895; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xii. 396, viii. 332. Price, 15s.*

THIS is a work of immense range. The author brings us down from the first dawn of religion to the age of Justinian, and contrives to pack into his two volumes a perfect mass of information, including the latest discoveries of the French Archæological Society at Delphi. He is deeply impressed with the powerful hold which religion has upon all men from the savage to the savant. Thus he tells us how even Voltaire, when he thought he was dying, wrote, "I die in the fear of God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, and cursing all superstition." Similar testimonies to the strength of the religious instinct are quoted from Heine, Darwin, Ranke, Bismarck, and Moltke. In fact man, according to Dr Arneth, is distinguished from the animals by these two things,

rational speech and the effort to place himself in relation with the supernatural. Some writers, indeed, such as Du Bois Reymond, hold that the deepest problem of life, the relation of the material to the spiritual, will never be solved. Others, however, such as Suess, and Sir John Lubbock, change the "ignorabimus" of Reymond into a simple "ignoramus," and are more hopeful of the future. The writer then proceeds to enquire into the origin of religion. This part of his work is less satisfactory. He supposes that primitive man was impressed by the more sublime phenomena of Nature and by the awful dissolution of death, and that the religious feelings were first excited by such causes. It is questionable whether the earliest man was capable of conceiving of Nature as a whole, or of being impressed by anything save his immediate environment. The simplest form of religion is animistic, in which every part of nature, trees, rivers, stones, &c., are conceived of as moved by a spirit akin to the spirit of man; and in particular, animals were regarded as powerful spirits, and the most formidable were presently worshipped as gods. Hence Totemism. Dr Arneth is quite aware of all this, but thinks there was *pari passu* a sense of the "Universum." Professor Sayce on the other hand, in his lectures on the Babylonian Religion, argues that we do not find Nature worship in the higher sense until man has passed through the lower stages of Animism, Shamanism or Witchcraft, and Totemism. Then, with regard to the effect of death upon the primitive mind, the author barely refers to ancestor worship. De Coulanges (*La Cité antique*) has shown what large remains of this primitive custom survived, even in classical times, in Greece and Italy.

But once plunged into his subject, Dr Arneth is full of interest and information. In Pelasgic times in Greece the worship of Zeus (at Dodona) and of Demeter seems to have prevailed. If, as Professor Sayce argues, the highest stage of Animism be that in which the great Cosmogonic spirits of heaven and earth are worshipped, we seem to see the Greeks just arrived at this stage when they entered Greece. Ζεὺς πάτηρ (Dyaus-piter) is the "Sky-Father." Similarly Demeter is the "Earth-Mother." The later hierarchy of gods in the Greek and Roman Pantheons represent not a religious development, but rather a degeneration. Arneth notes how the Greek and Phœnician cults met on the coast of the Ægean, and how gradually, from a variety of causes, Polytheism arose. Thus Demeter and Hera were originally both names of the same goddess, the Earth. "Hera" is taken to be connected with ἔρα, a Doric word for "the Earth"; and "Demeter" with δᾶ, Ionian for "Earth." Then special parts of nature received special worship, as e.g., Athene, who, according to our author, was the goddess both



of "Fire" (*αἶθερ*) and of "Water," as her patronymic Tritogeneia "Water-born" (*τρέω*, of the "tremulous" waves) indicates. Similarly Pan was the god of pastures (*πάειν*, to graze). Probably these deities were originally regarded simply as manifestations of the Supreme Deity. Water, *e.g.*, in the form of rain was spoken of as *τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ*, and the original source of Fire being the Sun, Athene is said to have sprung from the head of Zeus. Curious survivals of Tree worship appear to have remained in the form of the earliest images of the gods. At first Zeus was worshipped on mountain tops as the Bright God of the Sky, and had neither temple nor image. But the old deeply-rooted instincts of earlier Animism asserted themselves, and so we find the image of Hera in Samos and at Thespiæ was a mere board, that of Athene Lindia a beam, that of the Attic Pallas a stake, that of the Icarian Artemis a block of wood. The "Asheras" of the Old Testament are thought by not a few to have been similar wooden pillars, and I suspect the Greeks derived the idea from the Phœnicians, with whom it probably originated in Tree worship. An altar was set up under a sacred tree, and a pillar of the sacred wood stood by the altar to represent the god or goddess. It is not so easy to account for the worship of stones. But the fact that several cities claimed to possess "the image which fell down from Jupiter" suggests that these sacred stones were aerolites. Is it altogether fanciful of Dr Arneth to assign a similar origin to the veneration felt for the Scone coronation stone?

The introduction of foreign cults still further multiplied the number of gods, as also the tendency to Anthropomorphism, which grew with the growth of Greek art. The worship of Apollo (the Sun god) and the baser form of Aphrodite worship are traced to the Phœnicians. The shrine at Delphi is said to have been originally dedicated to Gaia (the Earth), which may account for the fact that it was regarded as the centre (*ὀμφαλός*) of the Earth. Arneth supposes it became associated with Apollo somewhat as follows:—Asia minor first received the "mantic art" from the East, and here the earliest Sibylls arose, one of whom at a very early date found her way to Delphi. The Sibylls were special devotees of the Sun-god. Hence Apollo became the presiding deity at Delphi. A special chapter is devoted to the history of the Sibylls and the Delphic oracle, and is full of interest.

The history of Greek religion is carried right down through Plato and Aristotle and the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to the Sceptics. Then the religion of Rome is briefly traced from Numa Pompilius to its decay at the end of the Republic, and the practical Eclectic philosophy of the cultivated man of that epoch is described. The rise of Cæsar worship is traced not only to Oriental

ideas, but to the sacred rites of the Julian gens, in which the genius of the head of the Family was worshipped, so that this "Gentile" worship of the Julian family was not unnaturally extended to the whole Empire, when the Julii attained supreme power. The utter corruption of morals in the time of the first Cæsars, and men's despairing efforts to find some new and satisfactory religion, as evidenced by the readiness with which all sorts of foreign cults were welcomed in Italy, showed that the Western world was ripe for Christianity. Similar was the moral state of the Jews as described by Josephus. The author devotes one chapter to Judaism, and another to "Jesus Christ and His teaching," though of course these are off the main line of his work, which is only concerned with Christianity in its relation to Paganism. The following passage is indicative of the writer's standpoint: "We must therefore both expect to find, and do find in Jesus Christ 'the Divine,' after which Plato and Cicero . . . yearned, that 'Divine' which every one will interpret for himself in his own way, just as every man will give a different answer to a whole number of transcendental questions." Whatever this may mean, it is followed by a full admission of the fact that our Lord stands morally supreme. The author fails to my mind in his attempt to explain the "darkness" of Calvary by an eclipse of the moon on April 3rd, A.D. 33. For, setting aside the question whether 33 was the year of the Crucifixion, and however inexact the notation of time in the Gospels may be, one can hardly put the hour of our Lord's death early enough in the morning to make such a theory of any use.

In what follows, the account of Constantine is perhaps the most interesting part. His strange mixture of Pagan and Christian ideas is illustrated with great fulness. But one grows weary of the length of the book. In a special work of this kind one does not want such a recapitulation of historical landmarks, which are sure to be familiar to most readers.

J. H. WILKINSON.

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**Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion d'après la  
Psychologie et l'Histoire.**

*Par Auguste Sabatier. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1897.  
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp.  
xvi. 416. Price, 6s. 6d.*

FRENCH Protestantism has in recent years made several noteworthy contributions to theological science. This volume, in which the venerable Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris sums up his life-work, is worthy of the special attention of theological thinkers. It is emphatically a modern book, dealing in

a thoroughgoing fashion with the problems of religion and Christianity which are at this moment pressing for solution. It is, in the best sense of the word, *radical*; it takes us down to the roots of religion in human experience, and to the roots of Christianity in the experience of its Divine Founder. It is at the same time profoundly religious and profoundly Christian; all through the author strikes a positive note. Old positions, tenaciously clung to by traditional orthodoxy, are indeed surrendered, but from beginning to end the volume bears witness to the author's enthusiastic conviction of the supreme truth and worth of the religion of Jesus Christ.

The book is a message for that large class of thoughtful persons who wish to be loyal at once to spiritual ideals and to scientific methods. The author sees no reason why we should be shut up to a choice between the two alternatives—pious ignorance or brutal science. He believes that a loyal love of truth may be in profound harmony with the pure worship of the God who dwells in the heart. Reason need not be sacrificed to faith nor faith sacrificed to reason. It is from this point of view that M. Sabatier has written his "apology." A perusal of the volume has given us the impression that it is one of the most powerful pieces of apologetical work Protestant theology has produced in recent years.

The volume has three main divisions:—First Book—Religion; Second Book—Christianity; Third Book—Dogma.

The first book is divided into four chapters:—1. The Psychological origin and nature of religion; 2. Religion and Revelation; 3. Miracle and Inspiration; 4. The Religious Development of Humanity.

The motto which appears on the title page: *Quid interius Deo?* is specially appropriate to the chapter on the psychology and nature of religion. Religion is an inevitable element in a true human experience, and by religion M. Sabatier means not the institutions of religion, or theological knowledge, but "God felt in the heart." Pascal has drawn out the moral antinomies in human experience; Kant has drawn out its intellectual antinomies—"From this feeling of distress, from this initial contradiction in man's inward life religion is born, from the fissure in the rock springs the vivifying stream" (p. 19). At the beginning of a striking section entitled "Religion the prayer of the heart," religion is thus defined—"a communion—a conscious and voluntary relation—into which the soul in distress enters with the mysterious power on which, it feels, both it and its destiny depend." Prayer—including not only the feeling of dependence, but also the faith which gives birth to liberty and victorious energy—is the heart of religion.

The chapter on Religion and Revelation is introduced by a quotation from Pascal, by whom our author has been deeply

influenced: "Thou wouldst not have sought Me, if thou hadst not already found Me." Religion and revelation are correlative. In all piety, there is a manifestation of God. Prayer implies the presence of God in the heart. The God to whom the prayer is addressed Himself inspires the prayer, and therein reveals Himself to the heart. From this conception of revelation as necessarily involved in religious experience, the mythological and dogmatical conceptions of revelation are criticised. It is shown how in the history of Israel, revelation comes to be conceived less as divination, and more as internal and moral, till in Christ revelation is one with religious experience. The dogmatical conception of revelation—the communication of divine doctrines attested by signs—is shown to overlook the essence of revelation as the manifestation of God's presence in the heart, and to separate God's revelation of Himself from his redeeming and sanctifying action.

The chapter on Miracle and Inspiration has an instructive discussion of the meaning of miracle in antiquity, and in the Middle Ages, and of the attitude of science to miracle. For religion, the value of the notion of miracle is an absolute confidence in the all-Good and all-Powerful God to respond to the prayer of His children, and to deliver them. "The real and active presence of God, the hearing of prayer, the liberty of hope"—these are the three things in which the pious heart is interested, and of which science cannot rob us. The mystery of inspiration is just the mystery of religion itself—the presence of God in the heart. "Religious inspiration is nothing else than the organic penetration of man by God, but by a God altogether inward; so that, when this penetration is complete, man is more really and more fully himself than before. This mysterious action of the Spirit in the heart of humanity may be compared to the action of the solar heat on plants. It is where the heat is strongest that the same plants, which are elsewhere stunted, attain their richest development and their greatest fruitfulness" (p. 100).

In the last chapter of the first book on the Religious Development of Humanity, there is an admirable section on the social element in religion. "Psychology discovers the root of religion, but it is history alone which reveals its power and scope" (p. 103). "The secret of the future of a race is hid in its religion." "There is ever a mutual penetration of social development and religious development." A brief sketch is given of the evolution of religion, with the view of showing that the whole religious history of humanity has been leading up to and preparing for Christ. "The religious evolution is without meaning and aim, or it has its issue in the Gospel of Christ" (p. 132).

The second book, dealing with Christianity, is divided into three

chapters—1. Hebraism or the Beginnings of the Gospel; 2. The Essence of Christianity; 3. The Great Historical Forms of Christianity. In the first chapter on Hebraism, M. Sabatier shows how, through its relation to the religion of Israel, Christianity links itself on to the religious evolution of humanity. The work of the prophets stands in specially close relations with the Gospel. "The miracle of the history of Israel is prophecy." Three elements are singled out as the legacy of prophecy to the Gospel—first, mercy joined to a severe ideal of righteousness in the conception of God; second, morality introduced into religion by the subordination of ceremony to rightness of heart and will; third, hope of a future of happiness and peace through the realisation of righteousness. On the other hand, these two features of the teaching of the prophets is noticed—first, that the object of God's love is not so much the individual as the elect nation; and second, that the Jewish nation occupies the place which is given to humanity in Christ's teaching about the Kingdom of God.

The most important chapter in the volume is that which deals with the essence of Christianity. Taken along with the chapter on the psychological origin and nature of religion, it gives the key to our author's whole theological position. Christianity is traced back to the spiritual experience of Christ—His perfect communion with God—the creative and inaugural experience which has been the fountainhead of Christian experience throughout the ages. "Christianity at once ideal (inasmuch as in Christ the ideal of religion as perfect communion with God has been realised) and historical, is indissolubly linked not only to the moral precepts and doctrinal truths of Jesus, but to His person, and to the permanent action of the new spirit which animated Him, and which lives again, from generation to generation, with His disciples" (p. 177). A man is a Christian in the exact measure in which the filial piety of Jesus is reproduced in him. "Those who have thus raised their inward life from the sphere of egoism and pride to the higher sphere of love and life in God, who have found in this profound conversion, along with the pardon and oblivion of their past life, the germ and hope of a higher life, the perfect, and therefore the eternal life, are the true religious offspring of Christ throughout the ages; they cause His Spirit to live again, they continue His work, they are dependent on Him, and marked with His image like the descendants of an ancestor whose blood and life have never ceased to flow in their veins" (p. 185). Christianity is the absolute and definitive religion of humanity just because in Christ, and those who share His spirit, God and man so mutually penetrate each other that a moral unity of love is attained, in which God becomes inward (*intérieur*) to man and lives in him, and man becomes inward



to God, and finds in God the complete blossoming of his being. The Gospel is the immediate application of the principle of the piety of Jesus to the social life around him. He promulgates no law or dogma, He founds no official institution. He desires above all to awaken the moral life, to draw the soul out of its inertia, break its chains, lighten its burden, and to make it active, free, and fruitful. He considers His work accomplished when He has communicated His own life to those who are dead. Jesus encounters sin with its results in moral degradation and in physical suffering. A double appeal is made upon Him, the voice of the Father in His soul and the plaint of His brothers around Him—a double appeal, which gives birth to His ministry of restoration, comfort, and salvation. This was His vocation as Messiah—the servant of the Lord, bearing the sorrows and sins of His people, stricken and humbled, dying to win for them healing and life. “By His union with the Father, the heir of the past felt Himself the master of the future. On the throne of sacrificial love He has founded a kingdom which shall never have an end. Such is the inward secret of His hope, and the moral and religious meaning of His coming triumph, and of His return in the clouds of heaven” (p. 199).

Just because Christianity is life, and has its seat in the spiritual experience of Christ and His disciples, the Christian scholar may handle the New Testament documents with the freedom of a scientific investigator. He can admit, without prejudice to religious interests, that the words of Christ may have been wrongly interpreted or wrongly recorded, and even that Christ may have shared currently received ideas in the non-religious sphere which are out of harmony with the knowledge of to-day. Again, because Christianity is life, we may expect that in its historical development there will emerge imperfections and errors. “The Christian seed is never sown in a neutral and vacant soil.” The soil is already occupied by ideas, rites, customs, and institutions which react upon the seed. In Judaism, the soil tends to turn Christianity into legalism; in Paganism, the soil tends to localise and materialise God, and to introduce all sorts of intermediaries between the Christian and the Father in Heaven.

In the third chapter of the second book we have a masterly sketch of the three outstanding historical forms in which Christianity has successively manifested itself—Jewish or Messianic Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Protestant Christianity. Catholicism and Protestantism both err in imagining that they reproduce primitive Christianity. Messianic Christianity—distinguished by its acceptance of the authority of the law of Moses, and for a longer period by its apocalyptic element—was a distinct form by itself, which it is impossible to reproduce. In Catholic Christianity

our author notices the influence of Roman organisation and Greek philosophy, and especially the influence of Paganism in materialising the Christian principle. Throughout this part he writes with the suppressed enthusiasm of a French Protestant delivering a message to his own generation. A quotation will indicate his treatment of Protestant Christianity:—"It is not one dogma maintained against another dogma, one church in competition with another church. . . . It is something more and better than a doctrine, it is a method; something more and better than a superior church, it is a new form of piety; it is a different spirit, creating a new world, and inaugurating for religious spirits a new *régime*. Hence it becomes equally plain that Protestantism cannot be confined or fixed in any definite form. It issues in a variety of formulas, rites, and societies, as necessarily as the Catholic principle issues in unity. One can put no limit to its development. Always inward, invisible, ideal, the religious principle which it represents accompanies the life and activity of the spirit in all the paths which man can try, and in all the progress he can make. Nothing human is foreign to it, nor can it remain foreign (*étranger*) to anything human. It solves the conflict of liberty and authority, as free and orderly governments solve it; it does not suppress either, but reconciles both in reducing authority to its pedagogic rôle, and in giving the Christian spirit to be the soul and inward rule for liberty" (p. 252). In the last section of this chapter there are some eloquent paragraphs, in which M. Sabatier gives expression to his conviction of the mighty influence which Christianity, rightly understood, is to exercise upon the whole social development of humanity in the coming century.

The third book or Dogma is divided into four chapters:—1. What is a dogma? 2. The life of Dogmas, and their historical evolution; 3. The Science of Dogmas; 4. The Critical theory of religious knowledge.

One might complain of a slight lack of orderly arrangement of the material in this part of the volume, but there is throughout a wealth of suggestive discussion.

Dogma merits neither apotheosis nor anathema. The real root of dogma is to be found in religious experience. Dogma and religious experience go together, just as language and thought; but as thought is the *prius* of language, so is religious experience the *prius* of dogma. Dogma is the language which faith speaks. It is sometimes said that because Christianity is life, it is therefore not doctrine. The contrary is true, that Christianity is doctrine just because it is life. A religious life which does not express itself cannot know itself, and cannot communicate itself. If thought needs language, so does Christian life need dogma. But dogmas are

not immutable. In every dogma there is, in addition to the religious element, an element supplied by the philosophy and science of the day, as, for example, in the dogmas about the creation, the history of humanity, and the Descent into Hades. Revision of dogma is therefore indispensable. "Except it die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." In the last chapter we have an application of the critical principles of Kant to the whole question of religious knowledge—as the true cure for dogmatic pride and the true foundation for tolerance and humility. This chapter reveals strong affinities with the Ritschlian School.

The bare abstract we have here given of the topics treated in M. Sabatier's volume gives no adequate impression of its wealth of thought and brilliance of expression. Sentences like these are abundant: "A man is an atheist only with regard to his neighbour's God" (p. 28); "A man must first mock himself before he can mock God" (p. 28). With reference to the religion of humanity which Comte felt compelled to establish in later years, we have this remark: "It is said that those who have undergone amputation sometimes feel lively itchings in the limbs they have lost: Auguste Comte and his disciples have experienced something similar" (p. 11). "One cannot believe in himself without believing in God; one cannot believe in God without finding Him in self" (p. 365); "Orthodoxy is mistaken about the nature of the *body* of religion, rationalism is mistaken about the nature of its *spirit*" (p. 407). "It is the chief weakness and misfortune of rationalism to be anti-religious" (p. 408).

Each chapter, it should be added, is provided with a bibliography—full in respect of French and German works, somewhat scantier in respect of English works.

D. M. Ross.

### The Times of Christ.

By Rev. L. A. Muirhead, M.A., Broughty-Ferry. Edinburgh:  
T. & T. Clark. 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 179. Price, 2s.

Mr MUIRHEAD'S *Times of Christ* is a welcome addition to the *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* edited by Dr Dods and Dr Whyte. The first part is historical, and narrates the course of events that led to the situation of affairs in Palestine with which the Gospel period opens. Part II. deals with the secular life of the Jews, social features, local government, and the parties in Church and State; while Part III., the most important of all, discusses the expectations current among the Jews regarding the Messiah and the growth of the Messianic idea. The author is

well read in the literature of the subject, and brings a ripe scholarship and independent judgment to bear on the settlement of the difficult points that meet the inquirer in this region. The literary ability of the book is conspicuous, although here and there one desiderates a more simple style to obviate the necessity of reading a sentence twice to take in the full sense. The book will be found most valuable in introducing the student to the many matters of interest bearing on the understanding of the Gospels of which it treats, and in helping to right judgments regarding them.

D. SOMERVILLE.

### **Bible Class Primers: The Miracles of Our Lord.**

*By Rev. Prof. J. Laidlaw, D.D., New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 93. Price, 6d. Cloth covers, 8d.*

DR LAIDLAW explains, in a prefatory note, that this Primer is in substance, though in greatly reduced form, an adaptation of the author's larger work on the miracles of our Lord. It is a marvel for the amount of matter compressed into small bulk. The style is clear and terse, and the spirit is warm and evangelical. Others besides teachers of Bible classes will be grateful to the author for this little book. It will be found of great use by preachers as well. The evangelical lesson of each of the parables is set forth in a few pointed sentences that suggest as much as they explicitly state. Occasionally one desiderates a word of explanation. What, for example, does the author mean by saying that storms, earthquakes, famines, &c., are part of the "disorder that *sin* has brought into God's creation"? (p. 40). Again, what do the words mean with which he winds up his account of the miracle wrought on the man born blind—"the whole chapter shows modern criticism its own portrait"? Modern criticism includes many varieties. Of which of these is this chapter the portrait? It is a pity Dr Laidlaw should seem to countenance the prejudice "against modern criticism" by language of this kind.

D. SOMERVILLE.

### **Christian Conduct: a Further Study of New Testament Morality.**

*By Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick, B.D., Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 145. Price, 6d. Cloth covers, 8d.*

THIS forms the second part of Mr Kilpatrick's "Study of Christian Morality," and is a most admirable piece of work. It covers the whole ground of Christian duty, and contains a mass of most valu-

able ethical teaching. An enumeration of the subjects included will give an idea of its completeness:—The family, the work of life, social relations, law of love, the State, the Church. Each of these receives a treatment that is both full and exact, while the spirit of the whole is elevating and impressive. Nothing could be more suitable for the purpose of an advanced Bible class. We trust that Mr Kilpatrick will expand and work up the material contained in these two primers, and give us a book on Christian ethics, such as is needed.

D. SOMERVILLE.

### **The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.**

*By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. New Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. 288. \$1.75.*

DR BRIGGS has given us a new edition, enlarged and thoroughly revised, of the volume on the Hexateuch which he wrote about five years ago as a kind of Apologia for his opinions, rendered necessary at the time "in the circumstances in which the author was placed" (vii.). Among the now numerous books on the Hexateuch written from the critical point of view, we do not know anyone more likely than this to meet the wants of the general public, for whom, "rather than for Hebrew students," the author says this work is intended. It is especially interesting as a history of opinion on the subject. The tale of the rise and progress of the Higher Criticism, of the introduction and modification of the various hypotheses, and of the gradual convergence of opinions as to the historical sequence of the laws and narratives of the Hexateuch, is told with much spirit and ample learning. "As the work of criticism has advanced," says the writer, "the concord of critics has steadily increased, and differences have disappeared with every fresh effort." He gives a list of 45 living German scholars who are essentially agreed as to the critical analysis of the Hexateuch—10 French, 6 Dutch, 22 British, and 20 American (144-5). Since the first edition of this work, Dr Green has given a list of anti-critics as an offset to the list of critics, but Dr Briggs points out that Dr Green can produce on his side the names of only four professional Old Testament scholars—Bissell, Mead, Vos and himself. "The roll of professional scholars leaves Dr Green in such a contemptible minority that, if it were not for his dogmatic environment, he could hardly have the face to advise the Old Testament scholars of the world 'to revise their ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth'" (145). The author has frequent



occasion to refer to Dr Green in the new parts of his book, and always does so with a certain severity. Perhaps he is too severe when he says that Dr Green "has studied the whole question as counsel for the defence of the traditional theories, and not as a seeker after the truth and the facts of the case" (98). Be that as it may, Dr Briggs is certainly no mere "naturalist," and no enemy of evangelical truth. He dissociates himself explicitly from "the rationalism and unbelief that characterise Kuenen, Wellhausen and Reuss" (95). He regards the Mosaic legislation as "a divine ideal, a supernaturally revealed instruction, to guide the people of Israel throughout their history, and lead them to the Prophet greater than Moses who was to fulfil and complete his legislation" (161). The apologetic aim of the book adds to its general interest. Dr Briggs has formed his opinions very deliberately. "In 1866 it was the author's privilege to study with Hengstenberg," and at that time his studies were, of course, on the orthodox side. But the champion of traditionalism shook his faith. "Hengstenberg convinced him in his own lecture-room that he was defending a lost cause" (62). Since then he has advanced steadily and slowly, by constant revision and rectification of his opinions, until he has attained the results stated in this volume (viii.).

The book presents a clear and forcible statement of the leading critical arguments from language, from differences of style, from parallel narratives, from Biblical theology and the witness of history; and on all these points the writer has much that is fresh and suggestive to say. Nobody is better entitled than Dr Briggs to press the argument from language, for he has been engaged for many years on the work of the new Hebrew Lexicon, in the course of which he has found fresh evidence in favour of the critical view constantly appearing (69). A considerable amount of the evidence he has gathered into the present volume; and this word-study is in fact the writer's original contribution to the problem of the Hexateuch. Chap. VII., in which thirty characteristic words are carefully examined, their presence in or absence from the different documents, J, E, D and P, tabulated, and the exact number of their occurrences generally noted, shows the critic's faculty for taking infinite pains. But having the general public in view, he has reserved a large amount of technical matter for an appendix, "which thus becomes a volume by itself" (100 pages). Some of the twelve sections of this appendix, in particular one on the Genesis of the Ten Words or Commandments; another on the Greater Book of the Covenant and its parallels in the other Codes; and a third on the Types of Hebrew Law as seen in Word, Commandment, Statute, Judgment and Torah, are of much interest and value as the fruits of the research and reflection of a strong

and independent mind. The "characteristic type" of the Words, in the Decalogue and elsewhere, is the second person singular of the verb; and Dr Briggs thinks it improbable that the fourth and fifth Words of the Decalogue originally differed from the normal type. It is easy to find the original Word IV.: "Thou shalt not do any work on the Sabbath Day"; and the original Word V. was probably, "Thou shalt not set light by thy father and thy mother." This is conjectural, but the critic is on surer ground when he demonstrates that each of the four writings which constitute our Pentateuch has enriched the Ten Words and enlarged their interpretation. "The Divine Spirit has inspired the several writers, each in his own way, to illustrate and enforce them by specifications, reasons and exhortations." It would be a serious loss if we were deprived of any of these (186).

In a long and skilful analysis of the Greater Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 20-xxiii. 33), Dr Briggs elaborates the idea of Bertheau and Ewald that this primitive code consists of a series of pentades, or groups of five commands, and decalogues, or groups of ten. He finds in it (1) two pentades and one decalogue of Words (דברים of the type just mentioned) regarding *worship* (Ex. xx. 23-26; xxii. 27-29; xxiii. 10-19), and two pentades regarding *social duty* (xxiii. 1-3, 6-9). In addition to these it contains (2) laws of another type, משפטים, the judgments or decisions of cases by a שופט, governor or judge. Of these he finds two pentades and three decalogues (xxi. 2-11; xxi. 37-xxii. 3; xxi. 2-11; xxi. 26-36; xxii. 6-16). One is at first suspicious that a little violence is being done to some of the verses to get them fitted into these frames, but the idea is plausible and the reasoning forcible; and even if some of the details may not be properly adjusted, the author deserves credit for a very acute and ingenious piece of analysis.

Among the best things in the book are the numerous fresh renderings of passages under discussion, which serve to show that a good deal might still be done, especially by bold modernising, to bring out the meaning of the original more clearly than the Revisers have succeeded in doing. It deserves to be noted that as regards some vexed questions Dr Briggs is essentially conservative: he stands up for the historicity of Chronicles (115); holds that the Redactors of the Hexateuch were inspired (160); and maintains that "the temple of Solomon is easier to explain on the basis of the Tabernacle of Moses than the latter on the basis of the former" (116). There are slight misprints: יכה for יכה at p. 217; Word V. for IV. at p. 187; and חפשי has a point too many at p. 215.

JAMES STRACHAN.

**1. The Exile and the Restoration.**

By A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark 1897.  
Pp. 115. Price 6d., or in cloth, 8d.

**2. Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments.**

*Rede zur Rektoratsfeier des Jahres 1896 und zur Einweihung der neuen Basler Universitätsbibliothek am 6. November gehalten von B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams and Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. 31. Price, M.0.60.*

**3. The Prophets of Israel.**

By Prof. C. H. Cornill. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company; London: 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C. 1897.  
Pp. xiv. 194. Price, 25 cents.

**4. Heilige Schrift und Kritik.**

*Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der heiligen Schrift, insonderheit Alten Testaments, von Dr Wilhelm Volck, Dorpat. Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert (George Böhme). 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 216. Price, M.3.25.*

1. The editor of the *Bible Class Primers* could not have made a happier selection than that of Professor A. B. Davidson, to deal with the difficult subject of the Exile and the Restoration of Israel. The author's rare insight and ability to grasp and to portray a historical situation, evidence themselves in his account of the reforms of Josiah, which failed because "they had been imposed by authority, they were not the effect of a rising tide of conviction in the hearts of the people generally." The two religions of Jehovah that prevailed side by side in Israel—the pure religion of Mosaic Israel, and the debased religion arising through amalgamation with the native population—are shown to furnish the key to the understanding of much of the history and of the activity of the prophets. The real significance of the "false prophets" is explained, and there is no explanation more needed in some quarters. As to prophecy in general, our author, while rejecting the old view which identified it with the prediction of future events, shows that this view has important elements of truth in it. "The prophet's face was always turned to the future." While the scope of his book prevents our looking for many references to questions of literary or historical criticism, we yet gather some indications of Professor Davidson's opinions on these. He regards the Book of Lamentations as "the work of an eye-witness of the last days of the siege" (p. 35), but "it is not the

work of a great prophet, but comes from the heart of the people" (p. 53). We may call attention also to the footnote on p. 79 and the final note (p. 115), in which the current controversies are dealt with concerning the date of the founding of the temple, and the part played respectively by the returned exiles and by the remnant that had been left in the land. The spiritual significance and influence, both of the Exile and the Restoration, are traced in the way we have learned to expect from Professor Davidson. "The destruction of the State was the greatest step towards Christianity taken since the Exodus. . . . The death of the people was the birth of the individual, and the ruin of the State the rise of the Church." The rise of the Synagogue is sketched and the activity of the new institution of the Scribes, in connection with which the caution is given that "we must beware of identifying the Judaism of Ezra's time and the centuries which followed with the official Judaism reflected in the New Testament."

Perhaps the most striking feature of this little book is the amount of what we might call *suppressed erudition* it displays. There is the danger that its unpretentious form and style may cause this to be overlooked in some quarters, but all who know anything of the multiplicity of problems connected with the period of history discussed, will gladly recognise that in Professor Davidson they have a guide who has thoroughly explored the whole field. The utility of the text-book is enhanced by a map of "Assyria and the Adjacent Lands" and by a Plan (provisional) of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah.

2. This is a lecture, delivered on the 6th November 1896, by Professor Duhm of Basel, on the occasion of the opening of the new University Library there. It sets forth in popular language, but with scientific exactness, the views of its author regarding the formation of the "library" of the Old Testament. From a careful examination of the well-known passage in 2 Mac. ii., Duhm infers that while a "library" practically identical with the present Old Testament existed then (second century B.C.), the conception of a Canon was as yet strange, or, at most, that only the Torah was included in such a category, all else was fluid and unsettled. In speaking of the date when writing became current in Israel, Duhm emphasizes a consideration which is often overlooked in discussions about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. A book requires not only an author to write it, but a *public to read it*. Granted that Moses knew the art of *writing*, is it in the least likely that the nomadic hordes of Israel knew the art of *reading*? A very interesting while necessarily rapid survey is taken of the various stages through which the formation of the Old Testament literature passed—beginning with compositions like the Song of Deborah,

"by far the most valuable pre-Davidic historical document," which must have circulated orally long before being written down, till we come upon the work of royal "recorders," or the chronicles preserved by priestly families, both of which supplied materials for the historical books. The work of the prophets and the influence of Deuteronomy, "at once the destroyer and the saviour of Judah," the editing that went on during the exile, the introduction of the Law by Ezra in 432 B.C., the work of the Chronicler, the weight allowed respectively to the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa—all these points are summarily but exhaustively discussed. Although the process of Canon-forming may appear to be a purely human one, Duhm believes that "the hand of that God, whose working the prophets saw and felt in history, has worked also in connection with the history of the collecting of these books, without which, not to speak of Judaism and Mohammedanism, there would have been no Christianity."

3. Some three years ago Professor Cornill of Königsberg delivered at Frankfort-on-the-Main a course of lectures on Hebrew Prophecy. These were intended for educated laymen rather than professional theologians. When afterwards published, the little book met with a warm welcome, and we have often wondered that long ere now it was not translated into English. In the First Lecture, Cornill discusses such points as the derivation of נָבִי (prophet) and the contrast between prophecy as it had its home in Israel and amongst other peoples. The Second Lecture traces the prophetic activity from the beginning of *written* prophecy to the death of Hezekiah. Amos has for his watchword *righteousness*, Hosea *love*, Isaiah and Micah have each their characteristics, which are firmly grasped. Hosea and Jeremiah seem to be our author's favourites, the latter prophet's teaching being in his estimation surpassed only by that of Jesus. Jonah, the last constituent of the prophetic literature, also receives an enthusiastic eulogium. "In it Hebrew prophecy leaves the field a conqueror, and that in the hardest struggle, *the struggle against itself*."

We have the utmost confidence in recommending this brilliant little work to the attention of all who desire to know what the prophets really were, and what their message meant. The translation, where we have verified it, is upon the whole accurate, and reads smoothly. Perhaps it errs a little upon the side of freeness, thus missing occasionally the fine point of the original. Of actual mistakes we need note only one. On p. 8, l. 7 from bottom, "word" is not the correct translation of "Sache," and its use obscures the argument of Cornill, which is not so much that the *word* nābî is of foreign origin, as that *prophecy itself* is not specifically of Israelitish origin.



4. Professor Volck of Dorpat is well known as a competent scholar, with somewhat conservative leanings. The latter circumstance does not, however, interfere with his fairness and candour. In the work before us he cheerfully acknowledges how much he has learned from opponents, and not a discourteous word does he utter in the course of his long investigation. His object, he explains, is not to convince those who are thoroughly committed to theories like Wellhausen's, but to help those who feel as if they were compelled reluctantly to accept of such theories, and at the same time to throw light upon some questions which divide scholars who occupy the same general standpoint as himself. The book opens with a careful historical inquiry into the various doctrines that have prevailed at different times regarding Scripture and its interpretation. There need be no hesitation about pronouncing this an extremely valuable dissertation. Our author shows himself equally at home in traversing the barren wastes of apostolic tradition and allegorical exegesis, in sketching the attitude of the Reformers to Scripture, in describing the degeneration which marked the exegesis of the seventeenth century, in tracing the rise of rationalism, and in estimating the work of the "positive believing" school. When he comes to state his own position, we welcome his distinction between Revelation and Scripture, his vigorous defence of Textual Criticism and the necessity of investigating the history of the Canon, and his masterly exhibition of the hopeless inconsistency and helplessness of the champions of verbal inspiration. "We are Christians, not because we believe in the Bible, but because we believe in Christ." He has no faith in determining the canonicity of a book simply by the *testimonium spiritus sancti*.

After stating his general principles, which seem for the most part unexceptionable, Volck proceeds to show their working in concrete instances. In the patriarchs he sees historical characters, and in the early narratives of Genesis finds more real history than some who are by no means extreme critics would be prepared to allow. His argument shows, however, intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and is always interesting, if not convincing. On the important subject of Hexateuchal criticism, Volck regrets the suspicion with which some defenders of the faith view the literary analysis of the narratives. For himself, he accepts as a matter of course the main results of such analysis, while protesting against the confidence with which some distribute the material between J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>1</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, etc. Nor does he see any danger to Biblical theology in denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in accepting of Deutero-Isaiah and the Maccabæan date of Daniel, or in rejecting most of the titles of the Psalms. The main part of the

work is naturally devoted to a critical examination of Wellhausen's position, and we trust we shall not be accused of presumption in pronouncing that Volck has failed in all his chief assaults on the Göttingen critic. It is too late in the day to offer us such a beautifully harmonistic explanation of Ex. xx. 24 f.; nor can we pronounce a more favourable verdict on his argument for the existence of the Tabernacle of the Priests' Code, his remarks on the attitude of the prophets to sacrifice, or his attempt to discover in Hos. viii. 12 an acquaintance with a Deuteronomic Torah. If what Professor Volck says on these points is the best that can be said from his standpoint (and we believe it is), the Göttingen flag will not be hauled down for a while yet. At the same time, we have read the book with the utmost pleasure, and we feel sure that no reader will fail to learn much from a work whose tone is so admirable, and whose arrangement and style are a model for German writers.

J. A. SELBIE.

### God the Creator and Lord of All.

*By Samuel Harris, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Yale. 2 vols. 1897. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. x. 597, 576. Price, 16s.*

DR SAMUEL HARRIS has a distinguished position among the theologians of America. His name is also held in honour among the discerning on this side of the Atlantic. He has earned the high reputation which he enjoys by the production of a series of writings projected on the scale of the great systems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but modern in their spirit and scientific in their method. In his *Philosophic Basis of Theism* he has made a weighty contribution to the Theistic argument. In his *Self-Revelation of God* he has continued the preparation for a constructive statement of doctrine. These volumes are of large scope and massive make. We know of no more adequate or better reasoned treatises on the great Apologetic questions with which they deal. They are written with remarkable logical power, and with the grasp of one who knows both the philosophy and the science of his time. With conspicuous ability and patience they work out a connected, rational account of the questions which lie at the foundations of a Christian Theology, and they do this in a way suitable to the form which these questions have taken in our own day. They have been a great help to many minds, and have won a place which they are not likely to lose for a long time in the literature of their subjects.

The ground having been cleared and preliminary questions dis-

posed of in these volumes, Dr Harris now addresses himself to the Christian doctrines themselves. In these new volumes he gives a systematic statement of the Christian conception of God, arranging his matter in four parts. In the first, which has the title *God the One absolute Spirit*, he deals with God as the absolute Being, in His self-existence, omnipresence, eternity, plenitude; then with God as Spirit, possessed of reason, will, and feeling. From this he proceeds to unfold a system of Theodicy, and next takes up the doctrine of the Trinity, in its philosophical and its practical significance. In Part II., which is entitled *God the Creator*, he goes into a careful examination of the idea of creation, the cosmogony of Genesis, the speculative objections, and the Biblical statement in three forms. In Part III., which has the heading *God the Lord of All in Providential Government*, he discusses in the same way God's Government in its generic significance, and His Providential Government in respect, first, of its universality, and, second, of its relations to Sin and to Redemption. An acute and interesting chapter on Special Providence brings this Part to a close. Part IV., which is designated *God the Lord of All in Moral Government*, opens with an important discussion of moral character, what it means, how it begins, and how it develops. This is followed by a series of chapters dealing mainly with the ethical side of doctrine—the principle of the Law, the essential and distinctive characteristic of sin, the nature of Christian love, the rules of duty, love as benevolence and as righteousness, love as manifested in trust and service, duties to God and to man in his relation to God, the distribution of duties to men, and the sanction of the law. The conclusion of the whole is an exposition of the Christian doctrine of civil government.

The volumes, therefore, form part, and a large part, of a complete system of theology. They will be followed, we hope, by others devoted particularly to the questions of grace, and giving the constructive statement of the Christian doctrine of Redemption, as also that of the Last Things. These topics are not left untouched in the present volumes. Dr Harris comes across them at more than one point of his argument, and has much of value to say of them. But they require larger and more special treatment, and there are hints that they will receive that. But so far as these volumes go, they do much not only to establish the great Christian verities and to define them in the light of modern knowledge and experience, but also to give each its proper place in a co-ordinate system. They are written, too, with a healthy and invigorating sense of the possibility of attaining positive truth, and of expressing it in terms that will satisfy reason. At each step in his construction Dr Harris shows not only how the truth with which he is dealing has its foundations in

the Word of God, but how it can be set forth rationally and defended philosophically. Dr Harris is not of those who doubt or deny the possibility of having any real and immediate knowledge of God and things divine. That way of thinking is popular at present. Large and powerful schools are engaged in the formation and vindication of a version of Christian truth ruled by it. Its spell is upon many minds. We could wish that this strong and stimulating work might find many readers among those under the influence of these schools.

The opening chapters of Dr Harris's treatise have a two-fold value. They give a welcome and useful summary of important positions which are worked out at length in his previous volumes, and for this many will be grateful. They give also an able defence of theology as a science; a notable exposition of the relative claims and positions of Revelation, Belief, and Reason; and instructive discussions of nature and the supernatural, as also of the ideas of transcendence and immanence. On the last of these subjects he has some just remarks on the tendency which has shown itself to "isolate either the transcendence or the immanence," and on the necessity of recognising both in every revelation which God makes of Himself, "not only in the evolution of the universe and its greater cosmic agency, but also in every individual thing that lives or moves." The whole question of Revelation and the Bible receives very satisfactory treatment. Revelation is to Dr Harris primarily a manifestation of God in historic action, and it is of reason to reason. The difficulties sometimes felt on this subject are removed, as he puts it, "when we return to the fundamental position that God reveals Himself primarily by what He does in the constitution and evolution of the physical universe, in the constitution of man, and in his progressive education and development. The Bible is then seen to be the record of the special line of God's action redeeming men from sin and developing His Kingdom, which was intended to issue, and in the fulness of time did issue, in the coming of Christ, and has been perpetuated through all subsequent ages in the Holy Spirit. What God reveals is primarily Himself, the living and loving God, acting in the universe and among and upon men. He reveals truth only in a secondary sense; for the truth revealed is simply man's intellectual apprehension of what God really is and does as He has revealed and is revealing Himself in His action, and pre-eminently in His action redeeming men from sin and developing His kingdom of righteousness and good-will as recorded in the Bible." And Revelation thus understood is in fit relation to reason. That the two are incompatible or contradictory, is a false assumption. There are those who disparage human reason, "as if reason were silenced in the presence of revelation."

there are others who reject revelation, "as if revelation were silenced in presence of reason." Both are equally wrong. The "revelation is the revelation of the highest reason to rational man. Man as rational must receive and interpret it. Neither is sufficient of itself. Revelation is of reason to reason." These sentences indicate the views on which Dr Harris proceeds, and the kind of system he expects to construct.

Dr Harris's discussion of the Divine Attributes deserves attention. Referring to the different classifications of the Attributes which have been given by theologians, he prefers one based on the two aspects of God's being as the absolute Spirit. "By unfolding what God is as the absolute Being, so far as He has revealed Himself, we get one class of His attributes. By unfolding what He is as absolute Spirit, so far as He has revealed Himself, we get another class of His attributes. These would comprehend all which we can know of what God is in Himself." That may be granted. A classification of this kind, however, tends to an inconveniently abstract presentation of the Divine Attributes, and this is felt in the very able pages of the first volume which are devoted to the question. It seems to us to be greatly inferior in more than one respect to the classification that takes for its basis the idea of a Personal God as the highest doctrine of Deity and co-ordinates the Divine Attributes with the several constituents of Personality. Perhaps the most striking thing in this part of Dr Harris's work is the section given to the Divine Knowledge. Here he is at his best all through, and most particularly when he has to deal with the alleged incompatibility of God's foreknowledge of human actions with free will. He enters into a masterly examination of the positions of theologians like C. H. Weisse and Richard Rothe, and of the various arguments advanced in support of the denial of an absolute foreknowledge in God. It is said that to suppose God to foreknow the acts of rational agents is to ascribe to Him something inconsistent with free will both in Himself and in man. To the one side of this assertion, Dr Harris replies, that "God has, in the light of eternal reason, the archetypal ideal of all perfection and well-being possible in a finite universe, and He is immanently active in the universe in the progressive realisation of this ideal. His knowledge of the thoughts, actions, and characters of his rational creatures is no hindrance to His continued action among and on them in the fulness of His love." And he illustrates this by the simple analogy of an architect who plans a building to its minutest details, and makes every arrangement for the execution of the plan. "If he could foresee," he says, "with absolute certainty that he would procure the necessary material, employ and direct skilled workmen, and finish the building as planned to its minutest details, this would not supersede his own



continuous activity in its erection, nor hinder the constant exercise of his free will in his work, but would stimulate and encourage him in it. And if this is true, even of a finite man, much more is it possible for the infinite God. He has in His mind the archetypal plan of the universe, He knows that the universe will be developed in accordance with it, and He is continually active in progressively realising it. And all His action is in the continuous exercise of His own free will in free accordance with His eternal free choice of the archetypal ideal of the universe, to be realised in its creation and evolution."

On the other side of this alleged contradiction he replies, in the second place, that, instead of annulling or abridging the free agency of men, God's foreknowledge of their rational acts rather "insures and perpetuates it." Otherwise we should have to say that God's ideal fails of its realisation. In point of fact, the denial of God's foreknowledge involves the mistake that knowledge and causal efficiency are identical. But "the subjective certainty of any mind that an event will happen exerts no causal energy in causing or hindering it." As Dr Harris points out, it is true to-day that certain acts will be done to-morrow, and it remains true whether it is known by any mind or not. "If any mind obtains to-day subjective certainty that this is true, the certainty does not in the least affect the freedom of the agents. The futurity of the event is objectively certain, whether any mind knows it or not. The subjective certainty of a mind that discovers it does not make the futurity of the event any more sure and fixed than it was before. But according to Rothe, this fixed objective certainty or futurity of an act destroys its freedom. It necessarily would follow that all future acts of free agents are necessary and under fate, whether any mind foreknows them or not."

What Dr Harris has to say on Sin, the Kenotic Theory, the hypothesis of an Incarnation apart from the necessities of a Redemption, the Doctrine of Creation, and many other subjects, will be found suggestive, though in some cases his statements will provoke dissent. One of the weightiest sections of the second volume is the one dealing with the *Sanction of the Law*. The whole statement of the subject of *penalty* deserves close attention. But if we were asked to say which of all Dr Harris's discussions seems to us the best, we should prefer, on the whole, that on the *Trinity*. There is more of the directly Biblical element here than elsewhere, while at the same time the position to be claimed for this doctrine in the forecourts of reason, philosophy and history is expounded with great fulness and precision. The history of the technical terms which have been used of the Trinity, the objections that justly apply to certain forms of the doctrine, the concessions of

Unitarian and other schools of thought, the practical worth of the doctrine and the connection it has had with the life of the Church, are handled with like ability and fairness. But Dr Harris is at his strongest when he comes to the philosophical significance of the doctrine, and shows how the Christian idea of a Trinitarian God "presents to the intellect the clearest, most comprehensive, and reasonable idea of God and of His relation to the universe." Other conceptions of God fail in different ways and measures to comprehend in unity both sides of His being as absolute Spirit. But the Trinity as revealed in Christ "presents, as no other conception of God does, the full-orbed idea of God as at once the absolute and the personal Spirit."

These volumes form one of the most important contributions which have been made to doctrinal theology by American scholars in recent years. They should have the attention of many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

### **Cyprian : His Life, His Times, His Work**

*By Edward White Benson, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. xxxvii. 636. Price, 21s.*

It is not often that a book comes before the world under circumstances so pathetic as those which have surrounded the publication of Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*. It would have been strangely appropriate if he who in his *Cyprian* speaks to us as the historian of the most important ante-Nicene Councils had been spared to preside a second time over the assembly of English-speaking bishops, and to guide their deliberations *de unitate*. Thoughts like these are naturally suggested by the book itself. It is essentially a living book, nor can it be understood unless we realise that in it we have a ruler of the Church, absorbed in the problems of the present, seeking guidance for their solution in the interpretation of the past.

Three characteristics lie on the surface of the book, each of which claims attention.

(a) The first thing which strikes the reader is the *maturity* of the work. It has slowly grown. "At Trinity Lightfoot and I read the *De Unitate* together on Sunday evenings in my Freshman's term." "Thirty years ago," his son tells us, "when he was headmaster of Wellington College, he . . . resolved . . . to undertake some definite work, which might provide both a contrast to and an illus-

tration of modern tendencies and recent problems." The firstfruit of these Cyprianic studies appeared some ten years later (1877) in the article on Cyprian in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "More than fifteen years before" the completion of the book, the Archbishop's son tells us how, "when he was at Truro, he [came] out of his study one evening, and announced that his Cyprian was 'practically finished.'" On Sunday, March 22nd, 1896, the Archbishop notes in his diary: "Have now practically finished a big book." These dates, records of a slowly ripening harvest, are significant. This courageous patience was characteristic of that remarkable group of Cambridge men to which Dr Benson belonged. The Preface to Bishop Lightfoot's *Ignatius* opens with the remark, "The subject has been before me for nearly thirty years." Bishop Westcott describes one of his most characteristic commentaries—that on the Epistles of St John—as "the accomplishment of a dream of early youth." The Biography of Dr Hort has impressively reminded us how, almost since undergraduate days, he and his coadjutor had built up, stage by stage, their work on the Text of the New Testament. No band of scholars ever clung so fearlessly to the motto, "Ohne Hast, ohne Rast." It is, of course, true that such deliberateness in literary work, when the actual composition of the book is spread over so many years, must have some drawbacks. The ideal of the writer grows with his work. The earlier portion can be only relatively "up to date." Of this danger the Archbishop was himself conscious. "If the earlier part of this Life," he says in the Preface, "is somewhat thin, that is because I have not thought it worth while to bring up its *primitiae* to the same level and same fulness as those days of Cyprian when the real problems of Church and World were upon him and he wrestling with them." We may regret, perhaps, that the space devoted to the "refutation and overthrow" of the now forgotten Rev. E. J. Shepherd was not given to the discussion, for example, of more recent work on the subject of the Christian ministry. But the gain of such patience and self-restrained care in the book as a whole is out of all proportion to the loss in matters of detail. The investigation which is simply "up to date" may be of ephemeral interest. It is the independent, well-considered treatment of great questions and of momentous historical epochs at the hands of a finished workman which is of permanent value, and endures as a conspicuous cornerstone in the growing fabric of knowledge. Archbishop Benson's work will live, as that of Archbishop Ussher and that of Bishop Pearson have lived.

(b) Among English theologians it often happens that the work of the specialist is sadly hindered by the press of practical duties; but it is also quickened and disciplined by these. The judgment of a

recluse on the opportunities, motives, and methods of Cyprian would probably have been very different from that which we find in this book. We have here a man of affairs, whose life was spent in dealing with men and in guiding the work of a great historic Church, following with extraordinary care the career of a leader of men at a great crisis of the Church's and the world's history. I do not think that the Archbishop is ever guilty of adding even a shade of colour to his picture of the past in order to create a likeness to our own days. But, as he says, he has "not ever been unmindful of the present," and we feel that Carthage in the third century is not so very widely sundered from Canterbury in the nineteenth. Thus (p. 241) he speaks of "Carthage, in some respects so like England, with its blended races, its contracted home, world-wide intercourse, and ready interest in theories which had their birth elsewhere." It is curious too to stumble upon a note (p. 245, n. 4) which explains the origin of the epigrammatic title of a former book of the Archbishop's—*Christ and His Times*—in which such modern problems as "Suffering Populations" are discussed. Pontius, the earliest biographer of Cyprian, used the phrase, "Fulness belongs to the times of Christ"—"cuius [sc. Christi] temporibus plenitudo debetur." The Archbishop held with Sir J. R. Seeley that "history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object." The book, as a whole, cannot be rightly understood unless it is regarded as in some sense a *concio ad clerum*.

(c) "It is the most marked characteristic of the Cambridge school that it starts from a basis of first-rate classical scholarship." These are the generous words of Dr Sanday in an article on Bishop Lightfoot, published in the *Expositor* many years ago. I may be pardoned for quoting here a few words from a letter of Dr Hort's (*Biography*, i. p. 232). Speaking of the Trinity Fellowship examination of 1852, Dr Hort writes: "In Classics Lightfoot was of course first, and Benson second, chiefly, I believe, from a beautiful translation of 'Then quickly rose Sir Bedivere, and ran' in *Morte d'Arthur*, into Greek Hexameters.<sup>1</sup> I gather that I was third in Classics." *Cyprian* is emphatically the work of a trained scholar. This is clear in every line—in the neatness and forceful ease of the translations; in the careful study of words and idioms contained in the foot-notes; in the discussion of matters of text; not least in the appreciative remarks on Cyprian's style, and its contrast to that of "his master," Tertullian. But with the Archbishop, as with his two friends just mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> They will be found in *Arundines Cami*, p. 313. Lovers of Latin verse may remember a copy of *Elegiacs*, a translation of Gray's, 'Twas on a lofty vase's side, signed E. W. B., and done, I believe, in the examination for the Chancellor's Medals, 1852.

scholarship was used as a key to knowledge. His book is full of learning, often curious and recondite; a storehouse of material, new and old, gradually brought together from many different quarters.

There is no characteristic of the best recent work on the New Testament and on Church history more striking and more hopeful than the scientific precision, and therefore the picturesqueness, which it has gained from the study of inscriptions and of archaeology. Now, for the first time, the life of Cyprian, and the many collateral subjects which gather round it, receive systematic illustration from this source. Thus, to take some examples of different kinds, a curious use of *perferre* in one of Cyprian's letters (*coronam non potuisse perferre*, the accusative expressing the object to be attained), of which Forcellini does not give an example, is paralleled from an inscription found at Lambæsis: "Conjugis absentis *reditum perferre* nequisti," of a lady dying before her husband's return (p. 223, n.). Again, the Roman confessor, Celerinus, had two sisters who fell away in the persecution (Ep. xxi. 3); of them he writes: "istis sororibus nostris *Numeriae* et *Candidae*. . . . Nam hanc ipsam *Etecusam* semper appellavi . . . quia pro se dona *numeravit* ne sacrificaret." The passage has been felt to be unintelligible, and several emendations have been suggested for *Etecusam* (for which the only variant is *et recusam*). Dr Benson changes chaos to cosmos by (1) showing that the name *Tecusa* occurs in several inscriptions, and that the true reading therefore is probably *et Tecusam*; (2) taking *hanc ipsam* as predicative—"for so indeed (*i.e.*, by this particular name *Numeria*) have I always called *Tecusa*, because she *paid down* bribes to be excused from sacrificing." He then points out that in de Rossi's collection we have possibly "an interesting trace of the family at Rome, and of *Tecusa's* restoration" (pp. 74 f., 71). Again, the impression made by Cyprian's *De Lapsis* is shown (p. 177) by "an adaptation of two passages from it on an African inscription"—the epitaph of an "innocent boy"—"quam te letum excipet mater ecclesia de oc | mundo revertentem. conpremat<sup>r</sup> pectorum | gemitus. struat<sup>r</sup> fletus oculorum" (see *de Lapsis*, 2, 16, Quam vos laetos excipit mater ecclesia de praelio revertentes. . . . Comprimat<sup>r</sup> pectorum gemitus; statuatur fletus oculorum). Again, seldom has the warning "there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed" been more strangely exemplified than by the discovery and publication, within the last few years, of two *libelli*; they show, at least, two things—(1) that Decius' policy was nothing less than "an application of the great Roman administrative forces to any and every individual in the Empire"; one *libellus* ends with "I Isidorus wrote for them as unlettered"; (2) that a *libellus* might,



and sometimes did, contain two declarations—the one a declaration of innocence on the part of the person accused of Christianity, the other a declaration received by him from the magistrates attesting his “sound paganism” (pp. 541 ff., 81 ff.).

To give one more example: archaeology throws light on the repressive edict of Valerian, issued in August 258. Christians had been forbidden to enter the cemeteries. Why this sudden new severity? An entry in the Hieronymian Kalendar, when examined, seems to prove that, in this very year, on June 29th, the bodies of St Peter and St Paul were removed to the Catacombs, and there laid in a temporary resting-place. Between June and August there was abundance of time for tidings of Christian doings at Rome to reach the Emperor at Byzantium. “It is tempting to think that the Emperor may have been induced to sharpen his decree by tidings of the translation” (p. 481 ff.).

A word may be permitted here on what is a salient feature of the book, the Archbishop's own style. It is indeed closely connected with his classical training. Of Cyprian he says (p. 531), “He had that gift of gifts, the breathing of life into dead or languid phrase.” The good gift of the hero was coveted earnestly by the biographer. His son, in the prefatory note, reports a conversation in which the Archbishop, speaking of his own style, said, “I only wish to say the obvious thing without the customary periphrases:—it all comes of hours and hours spent with intense enjoyment over Thucydides, weighing the force of every adjective and every participle.” What he says of a certain “truly Tertullianesque expression”—“there he leaves it downflung for readers to think about” (p. 282)—applies to many of his own epigrammatic and sometimes quaint sentences. The result is that the style, though always pure and always masterful, gives the impression of being, as it were, too conscious of itself—an impression confirmed by such alliterations as “faultily and fatally,” “owed and owned,” “earliest and earthiest,” “rend and end,” and by the occasional use of such unexpected and enigmatic epithets as “the *breathless* harbour” (p. xxx.). In the portions dealing with matters of principle and of doctrine, the reader is perhaps always conscious that he and the writer are not wholly at ease with each other. But I cannot help calling attention to the eleventh chapter—“The Birthday”—as a model of strong, dignified, restrained English. Few students who catch the spirit of the book will be content with reading the story of the martyrdom once.

Further points in the book will emerge if we turn more definitely from the writer to the subject of the biography, and consider some points in this presentation of Cyprian as a writer, a theologian, a statesman.

(1) As a writer Cyprian did much to mould the language of Latin Christendom. For this his earlier history fitted him. "He was so thoroughly what we call a scholar that he edited for Christians a phraseological lexicon of Cicero" (p. 531). To the *simplicitas* of the African Bible he never, as it seems, became sufficiently attached to weave its phrases into his own language, or to catch its style. It is, of course, true that he inherited much from Tertullian, but what he inherited he shaped and enriched. Tertullian collected the magnificent unhewn masses of material. It needed a more disciplined spirit to fashion these and form them into the stately fabric of ecclesiastical Latin. Cyprian "left what he had not found, a language which Divinity could use as a facile, finely tempered, unbreakable instrument" (p. 531).

The student of Leo's *Dogmatic Epistle* is conscious that in the massive folds of Latin periods the full significance of Christian thought is sometimes hidden. There is a satisfaction in the magnificence of the expression which makes us forget to ask whether the vastness and the mystery of the doctrines are recognised. Not very different is our feeling as we read the Latin of Cyprian. "To the well-moulded strength of Roman eloquence Africa, 'nurse of pleaders,' had added a fervour not unlike that with which Ireland has enriched the English bar" (p. 3). This power of graceful and impressive rhetoric, which Cyprian transferred from the service of the courts to the service of the Church, not seldom rounds off the sharp, jagged edges of difficult problems. Sometimes I cannot but think that the Archbishop in his presentation of Cyprian's thoughts infuses into them an insight and a meaning which is lacking in the original. Take, for example, part of the summary (p. 261 f.) of the *De Mortalitate* in which, when the plague was raging at Carthage, Cyprian encouraged his flock and gave his "interpretation of sorrows": "These same grounds create in him the conviction that moral causes in society have an effect on the conditions accorded to humanity, not only immediately by the recompense earned by the individual's vice or virtue, but mediately by affecting general laws, exterior and physical, through exercise of the moral judgment of God. Not only is the world in order a field for human excellence to expand on and an external instrument for it to utilise, but a world in physical disorder is an instrument of correction, converting selfish and abject thoughts to interior and wider considerations." But Cyprian himself is an orator, hardly a philosopher.

From this treatise I turn to a letter (Ep. 63) which stands apart from the rest of the collection, and deals with the Eucharist—a Greek word, which, it may be noted, Cyprian himself here studiously avoids. A practice prevailed with some bishops in the Province of using water in the chalice instead of wine. Cyprian felt it his

duty to address a letter on the subject to Caecilius of Bithia as senior bishop. In this letter "the wildness, it must be admitted, of the Biblical interpretations and the looseness of the logic is equalled only by the quiet insinuating beauty of its style, the soundness of its conclusions, and its value in evidence" (p. 291). The last words refer to the question of the use of the "Mixed Cup," on which the Archbishop gave judgment in the so-called Lincoln case. Of this usage Cyprian draws out the symbolical meaning, water signifying the people, wine "the blood of Christ, with whom His people are blended in inseparable union and conjunction." The Archbishop does not notice here a bold theory of Harnack's (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, vii. Band, 2 Heft, 1891), that the use of simple water was a survival, not an innovation; that till about the middle of the second century a cup of wine *or* a cup of water was used; that about that time, partly for Scriptural reasons (Lc. xxii. 18), partly as a protest against Gnostic asceticism, the Church insisted on the use of wine, and (perhaps by way of compromise) emphasised the "Mixed Cup." This is not the place to summarise or to discuss the evidence which Harnack finds in Justin Martyr and elsewhere in support of his theory. As to this letter of Cyprian's, however, he notices (1) that Cyprian does not speak of the practice which he condemns as heretical (*e.g.*, *vel ignoranter vel simpliciter* § 1); (2) that, while Cyprian wrongly explains in reference to Baptism the passages adduced by the Aquarii, which speak of *drinking* water (Is. xliii. 18 ff., xlviii. 21; John iv. 13 ff., vii. 37 ff.; Matt. v. 6), he is disingenuous in slurring over (§ 9) what must have been a *locus classicus* with his opponents, viz., the words, "His *bread* shall be given him; his *water* (sing., lxx. ὕδωρ) shall be sure" (Is. xxxiii. 16), a passage which Justin (*Dial.* 70) had long before interpreted of the Eucharist; (3) that Cyprian's own words (§ 14 *si qui in praeteritum . . .* § 17 *si quis de antecessoribus nostris . . .*) point to the antiquity of the usage which he condemns; and that this evidence, combined with that derived from the Martyrdom of Pionius (§ 3 *προσευξαμένων αὐτῶν καὶ λαβόντων ἄρτον ἅγιον καὶ ὕδωρ*), justify the position that the "usage of the North African and the Asiatic Aquarii, just because they were not inclined to asceticism, points back to the earliest period." I believe that the arguments of Harnack can be met. But his investigation is one which demands discussion.

The letter to Caecilius exemplifies Cyprian's position in regard to the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Though his first literary work after his ordination was a book of "Helps to Laymen's Scripture Studies"—the *Testimonia*—a collection of passages in support of various Christian doctrines, remarkable as the feat of a memory "unassisted by concordance or index," yet only in the *De Dominica*

*Oratione* does Cyprian undertake the task of systematic exegesis. This little treatise, "produced under the flaming heat of controversy, amid the whirl of organisation, in the atmosphere of a plague-stricken city," is not wholly original either in conception or in detail; it is a "softened echo" of Tertullian's tract, *De Oratione*. The relation of Cyprian's to Tertullian's work, its characteristics, and the question of its genuineness, are treated by the Archbishop with scrupulous minuteness. Two matters, however, of text may here be noticed. *First*, the Archbishop writes thus (p. 271): "Both [*i.e.*, Tertullian and Cyprian] give and comment upon the third petition as 'Thy will be done in heaven (the heavens) and in earth,' which form also, Augustine [*De Don. Persev.*, iii. 6] says, was more in use, and to be found in a majority of manuscripts." The "as" (*ὡς*, *sicut*) is omitted, it should be noticed, in one Greek MS. (*Cod. Bezae*) and in Old Latin MS. of different families. There is, moreover, some confusion in the Archbishop's reference to Augustine. His evidence is exactly inverted. His words run thus: "*Fiat voluntas tua in caelo et in terra; vel, quod in plerisque codicibus legitur, magisque ab orantibus frequentatur; Sicut in caelo et in terra; quod plerique intelligunt; Sicut sancti Angeli, et nos faciamus voluntatem tuam.*" *Secondly*, "The clause '*Lead us not into temptation*' is explained by Tertullian [*De Orat.* c. 8] as '*Suffer us not to be led*,' and without a hint of the genuine form Cyprian uses the Master's gloss as his own text of the prayer" [*ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem*]. So the Archbishop writes (p. 272). But this account of the matter is hardly adequate. The following points are worth noting:—(1) The source of the gloss is clearly 1 Cor. x. 13, which Cyprian quotes (*Test.* iii. 91) in the following form: "Qui non patietur vos temptari super quod potestis"; (2) The gloss, incorporated in the text, appears in somewhat *different* forms in several Latin MSS. of the Gospels, and hence probably originated in some other way than in the comment of one writer; (3) Though (as Augustine notes) the reading does not seem to be found in any Greek MS., yet Cyprian's contemporary Dionysius of Alexandria (*Migne P.G.* 10, col. 1601) uses the gloss; *τουτέστι μὴ ἐάσης ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν* (*cf.* 1 Tim. vi. 9); (4) The Pauline passage (*πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε . . . τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν*) suggested an expansion of the petition of the Lord's prayer constantly found in the *embolismus* of the several Liturgies, and this gloss is found as part of the text of the Gospel given by some Latin Fathers, *e.g.* Jerome (*Migne P.L.* 25, col. 484): "*Ne inducas nos in temptationem quam ferre non possumus.*" A consideration of this evidence points to the conclusion that in this *ne patiaris nos induci* we have a relic of very early Carthaginian liturgical usage, such as

we also probably find in the clauses of the *De Mortalitate* (26): "Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, illic prophetarum exultantium numerus, illic martyrum innumerabilis populus" (p. 264 n). The Cyprianic evidence as to the history of the early Latin text of the Bible is one of the subjects as to which the Archbishop modified his purpose as his work progressed. On p. 25 he promises to return to these questions. In the *Preface* he speaks of their discussion as "too special and too large a work to be included here."

(2) Cyprian is a theologian only in a limited sense. He made no contribution to the Church's thought on the nature of God, or on the nature and issues of the Incarnation. The problems which fascinated him were those whose solution could be translated into action. Of the life of the Christian Society "Cyprian formulated the 'Theory' as Brahe, Copernicus or Newton gave the 'Theory' of the Solar System" (p. 525, cf. p. 191). Probably the history of the Archbishop's book is the reason why, so far as I can see, the theory is nowhere stated or reviewed as a whole. It may be well to bring the points together. Cyprian's doctrine of the Church may be summarised in two sentences from his *De Unitate*. "He cannot have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother" (p. 183). "Outside the Church [men] cannot live, inasmuch as the House of God is one, and no one can be safe but in the Church" (p. 189). What of the constituent elements of the Church? With Cyprian, as with Tertullian, "the position of the clergy had been expressed in terms borrowed from the civil constitution . . . The laity were the Commons or *Plebes*, the Clergy were the *Ordo* . . . the regular name of the Senate, the Decurions, in the provincial and Italian towns" (p. 19). Further, "the office [of Bishop] carried the thoughts of men (whether consciously or not) back to the *Origines* of the three ruling principles of constitutional governments; to Democracy, to the power of the *Aristoi*, to Hierarchy—Levitic or earlier" (p. 525). The Bishop in the local Church is the element of unity. "The Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop, and if anyone is not with the Bishop he is not in the Church" (Ep. 66. 8; p. 37). "What the Bishop was to his own Diocese that the united Body of Bishops was to the whole Church" (p. 190). "The one undivided episcopate constituted not the authority only, but the unity of the Church" (p. 525). The Lord gave the commission to St Peter (Matt. xvi. 19) to indicate the Church's unity; He renewed the commission to *all* the apostles (Jn. xx. 23) to show that He placed all alike on the same level. As to the Church of Rome, in Cyprian's view, "*Principalis Ecclesia* it was. It had a lofty undeniable primacy among all Churches which believed it to be the Foundation of St Peter, and to have in it St Peter's *Cathedra*,



ascended by his successors," but the reverence due to it did not differ in kind from that due to "the Alexandria of St Mark, or the Ephesus of St John" (p. 192). Lastly, in regard to the functions of the Ministry, "the presbyterate is the Levitic tribe" (p. 34). "The Bishop is the sacrificing priest. Christ was Himself the Ordainer of the Jewish Priesthood. The Priests of that line were 'our predecessors.' . . . Each congregation (diocese) is 'the congregation of Israel'" (p. 33). Of this last point—Cyprian's use of the word *Sacerdos* in exclusive reference to the Bishop—one would have welcomed a full discussion. There is something to be said on the early history of the word in the Christian Church<sup>1</sup>; something too of the exact idea of the episcopal office which the term connotes in Cyprian (comp. Ep. lxiii. 14, *utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum [i.e., wine in the cup] tunc offert in ecclesia Deo patri*). Lastly, that Cyprian's position is historical evidence bearing on modern problems of organisation and order is clear. The Archbishop's interpretation of it is: "Cyprian and his times were as innocent of presbyterian and of congregational, as they were of papal catholicity" (p. 528). The use, indeed, or misuse, of Cyprian by modern champions of the Roman See is again and again exposed and rebuked. The reader becomes almost weary of the relentless vigour of the pursuit. In particular, the history of the celebrated Roman interpolations in Chapter IV. of the *De Unitate*, and the text of the whole passage, are treated with a minute and elaborate care (pp. 200 ff., 544 ff.) which make this part of the work final. "The papal apologists have framed, and at all hazards, and against evidence full and understood, have stedfastly maintained the grossest forgery in literature" (p. 193). Yet "even the glozed extract is inadequate without glozing comments" (p. 527).

The questions raised by Cyprian's "Theory" are not of a kind to be even touched on here. "The alternative," writes the Archbishop (p. 41) in reference to the two chief views which have been held, "is an important one. It will be answered by thinkers according to their schools, and cannot be determined by history

<sup>1</sup> Thus (1) Justin (*Dial.* 116), referring to Mal. i. 11, says of all Christian people ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἔσμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. . . . οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ θεός, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ. (2) Clem. Rom. 40 f., enforcing the lesson of order, draws an analogy between the Christian Church and the High Priest, the Priests, the Levites and "the lay people" of Israel, but he does not descend to details. (3) In the *Didache* xiii. 3 we find the injunction "thou shalt give the firstfruit to the prophets: αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν." (4) In the *Canons of Hippolytus* xxiv. 199 (ed. Hans Achelis) we read: Sit diaconus qui episcopum comitetur omni tempore illique indicet singulos infirmos. Magna enim res est infirmo a principe sacerdotum visitari: reconvalescit a morbo, quando episcopus ad eum venit, imprimis si super eo orat.

alone. . . . It becomes at this point a debate of metaphysical theology."

(3) Of Archbishop Benson's picture of Cyprian as a statesman, I have left myself no space to speak. The main outline was drawn long ago in the article in *Smith's Dictionary*. It is superfluous to dwell at length on the rigorous care with which the many tangles of Cyprian's earlier controversy are unloosed, and the minutest details elucidated, or the almost sternness with which the decision on the baptismal question of Cyprian's councils, in which "the laity were silent" (p. 426), is condemned. It was "uncharitable, anti-scriptural, uncatholic—and it was unanimous" (p. 425).

In drawing out "the character [of Cyprian] which endeared him to the laity, and which excited warmer and more affectionate feeling than that of any leader in the antient Church," Archbishop Benson dwells upon his "exact habits of business suiting a lively innate courtesy"; "that grave and sweet serenity which his contemporaries thought that his manners, his face, his very dress betokened," "his charity" as the "greatest of his great gifts" (p. 528 f.). The sum of the characteristics thus described might perhaps not inaptly be expressed by Clement's twice-repeated phrase—ἐκτενὴς ἐπιείκεια. If we feel that in this great biography the limitations of Cyprian's mind are scarcely sufficiently recognised, we may find the qualification we desire in Dr Hort's well-weighed words (*Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 109): "His writings show hardly any appropriation of the deeper elements in Tertullian's thoughts, those in which he claims affinity to Greek theology, perhaps partly due to borrowing from it; but the Roman legalism, which was so potent an ingredient in Tertullian's ways of thinking and speaking, acquired still greater force in its guidance of a man of simpler and more direct mind like Cyprian, accustomed through life to derive his thoughts of social order from the provincial administration of the Roman Empire. . . . The depth and purity of his own religious feeling makes itself felt almost everywhere in his writings: yet the conceptions of the Church and its institutions which he sets forth, and which thenceforth dominated Latin Christianity, were, indeed, most natural in all their circumstances of time and place, but not less truly involved injurious limitations and perversions of the full teaching of the Apostles."

Cambridge men have been wont to think with a far deeper feeling than that of pride of the triumvirate of theologians—Bp. Westcott, Bp. Lightfoot, Dr Hort—to whom they owe a debt of teaching and inspiration greater than they can express. Since his death, Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian* has revealed to them that

his name as scholar and historian of the early Church must be ranked with those of his three friends. Bp. Lightfoot has written of "Clement the Doctor," "Ignatius the Martyr," "Polycarp the Elder"; Bp. Westcott of "Origen the Theologian." To this great series there is now added Archbishop Benson's portraiture of "Cyprian the Saintly Statesman."

F. H. CHASE.

### **Sibawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik.**

*Nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Commentar des Sirâfi: übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sirâfi und anderen Commentaren versehen, von Dr G. Jahn. Lieferungen 6-13. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard, 1894-96; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Price M.4 each part.*

THE origin and scope of this work have already been explained in these pages (*Critical Review*, vol. v. p. 181). The eighth *Lieferung* closes the first volume in two parts, the one containing the translation of Sibawaihi, and the other the comments of Sirâfi and others.

Fleischer and his immediate contemporaries have passed away, but a publication like this is the most substantial proof of the solidity with which he laid the foundation of a school of grammarians. The *Altmeister* himself did not disdain to deliver to an audience of two or three students his prelections on the *Mufaṣṣal* and the abstruse rules of Arabic grammar; and his distinguished pupils bestow the most unwearied labour on the production of books which must, in the first instance, appeal to a strictly limited class of specialists, and only by degrees percolate into the wider channels of ordinary scholarship. For the opinion of Fleischer is now generally accepted that the study of Arabic grammar must be conducted on the basis of the native grammarians, proceeding backward to the fountain-head.

It is well known that there were bitter controversies between rival schools of ancient Arab grammarians. Even Sibawaihi, in spite of himself, was a man of strife; and the publication of this translation of his immortal "book" has given occasion to quite a sharp controversy between German scholars. Professor Praetorius of Halle published in the *Göttingsche Gelehrte Anzeigen* a criticism of the work which has drawn from Dr Jahn a reply of twenty-one pages, prefixed to the sixth *Lieferung* of the translation. The reply consists rather in a defence of the method pursued by Dr Jahn than a vindication of his own accuracy in the performance of his task; and it gives him an opportunity of explaining, more fully

than he could do in a prospectus, the purpose and practical value of his undertaking.

Dr Jahn maintains that he has done the best or the only practicable thing in the circumstances. They were these. The text of Sibawaihi is now accessible in the edition of Derenbourg. But it is confessedly hard to be understood, and in fact can only be understood by the help of the commentators, among whom Sirāfi holds the first place; and Dr Jahn, by his title page, undertook to give the book of Sibawaihi after the text of Derenbourg and the commentary of Sirāfi. Since, however, a great part of Sirāfi is already to be found in Jahn's edition of Ibn Ja'ish, it was advisable to print only such extracts as are essential, and then to throw the whole of Sibawaihi's work into the form of a connected translation. In pursuance of this plan, Dr Jahn has produced, not indeed a strict translation, but an adequate and connected exposition of Sibawaihi's book as it was understood in the best tradition. Where there were no difficult or disputed matters, and the original was diffuse, the translator has used *abridgement*. Where, on the other hand, the original was brief or obscure, he has expanded it in the sense of his guides, but, by throwing the whole into the form of a translation, he has attained the end of giving a connected representation of the author.

No doubt it seems tantalising that a translation, in the ordinary sense, of such a monumental work is not available. Dr Jahn himself admits modestly that his work on Sibawaihi is not a final one; and he emphasises the point that the translation has to be constantly compared with the original. Grammar was the one science which the Arabs elaborated for themselves. Their technical terms have in many cases no counterparts in our terminology; and the whole subject took system by degrees in the hands of generations of scholars. Certain terms are provisionally employed by European scholars, but in many instances they are merely the rendering of an Arabic expression into an etymological equivalent of undefined significance, as, *e.g.*, when the *sifa* is called the *qualificative*, the *badal* the *permutative*, and so on. An attempt at greater precision may even result in an inadequate rendering, as when *apposition* is given as the equivalent of *badal*. Sibawaihi himself was not uniformly consistent or precise in the use of terms, as Dr Jahn points out. Accordingly, in larger grammars, like Wright's, the Arabic terminology is carefully preserved, as the best guide to an exposition of grammatical principles as these were understood by the native grammarians. The great value of Sibawaihi's book is that it exhibits the formation of this terminology and the exposition of these principles, which were then more systematically formulated by later authorities. And a coming

generation of European scholars will have cause to thank Dr Jahn for the untiring labour which makes accessible a rich storehouse of materials, and follows the stream of this Arabic science back to its fountain-head.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

**Das Johanneische Evangelium und seine Abfassungszeit.  
Andeutungen zu einer veränderten Datierung des  
vierten Evangeliums.**

*Von Lic. O. Wuttig. Leipzig: Deichert. 1897. Cr. 8vo., pp. iv. 134. Price, M.2.*

THIS book attempts to make good the same general position as that which has been so strenuously advocated by Mr Halcombe in his *Historical Relation of the Gospels*, a work, by the way, which the author seems not to know. Its object is to prove that chaps. i.-xx. of St John's Gospel were written before the Synoptics and before the destruction of Jerusalem, while chap. xxi., written at least after the death of Peter, may be later than a part or even the whole of the Synoptic narrative.

The writer feels that his task is venturesome, and speaks of his attempt with due modesty. But it is somewhat startling to find it laid down at the very outset that he has no intention, in the first instance, of dealing with the Synoptic problem. For it is hard to see how the priority of the Fourth Gospel can be established apart from a thorough discussion of the conditions, or supposed conditions, in which the other three have arisen.

Wuttig draws out an elaborate plan, dividing his investigation into a number of separate discussions. These are more numerous than the size of the book warrants. And the result is that the progress of the argument is constantly interrupted, while the discussions themselves are too short and superficial to be cogent.

With so many separate points calling for examination or criticism, it is difficult to make a selection. One cannot read many pages without discovering a contradiction, which goes far to vitiate much of the reasoning. Wuttig accepts the Fourth Gospel as the authentic work of John. He distinctly disowns all idea of a free handling, either of incidents or discourses. He refuses to see any traces of "tendency" in the composition. And yet, over and over again, he rests his position on arguments which presuppose a colouring of the narrative. Thus, *e.g.*, in seeking to prove the early date from the plan and aim of the Gospel, he emphasises the fact (p. 9) that there is no polemic against heathenism, and no apologetic directed towards heathen; not even a reference to them in the manner of Paul in his letters to the Churches of Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, or in



his speeches at Lystra, Athens, &c. (as reported in "Acts"). But Wuttig's own standpoint excludes such reference. Again (p. 27 *sq.*), much is made of the fact that John gives no hint of the destruction of Jerusalem, and speaks of the institutions and feasts of the Jews as still existing. But if, as Wuttig firmly believes, the Evangelist was writing history as an eye-witness, why should he for a single moment go out of his way to explain that the Treasury, the Praetorium, and Solomon's Porch were now in ruins, or that the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles had lost their glory?

The distinctly Jewish background of this Gospel is also used as an argument for its being written in Jewish surroundings and for a Jewish circle of readers. And in this connection, great prominence is given to the frequent allusions to the O.T. and the assumption of a familiar acquaintance with it on the part of those for whom the book is written. But surely this is quite compatible with the traditional view. John, writing at Ephesus, in the midst of a Christian community, now almost fifty years old, and, of course, embracing many persons of Jewish descent, might well presuppose a most accurate knowledge of those Scriptures which were the daily reading of the Church.

To give another example, the author thinks it scarcely conceivable (p. 71) that, after the separation of the Christian Church from its birth-place in Palestine, and in a region comparatively distant from that land, the person and testimony of the Baptist should stand so prominently in the foreground. He seems to forget the specially close relation of the Evangelist to the Forerunner who had introduced him to Jesus, as well as the outstanding place which the Baptist must always have occupied in the apostolic reminiscences. And was it not at Ephesus that Paul had found actual disciples of John?

As has been previously noted, the discussion of the inner relation of John's Gospel to the Synoptics, upon which, after all, the whole burden of proof must rest, is quite inadequate. Wuttig seems, indeed, to ignore the commonly-accepted result of investigations. We have no hint of one or more common sources of the Synoptic Gospels. And surely it is rather late in the day to bring forward as an argument for the priority of "John" the fact that the other Evangelists do not narrate the miracle at Cana, the healing at the pool of Bethesda, the cure of the blind man (John ix. 1 *sq.*), the raising of Lazarus, &c., &c., which, it is assumed, they would have done, had it not been rendered unnecessary by John's narrative. It is easy to see how the same method of argument might be used to prove the opposite.

But while the cumulative proof carries no conviction with it, the book contains many interesting and penetrating observations, several of which are useful as contributions to the evidence for the authen-

ticity of the Fourth Gospel. It would require a firmer grasp of the problem in hand, and a far more searching discussion of the data, to make out even a plausible case against the universally-accepted chronological order of the Gospels.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

### Notices.

THOSE who wish a good handbook, of moderate size, to the History of Dogmas, cannot do better than provide themselves with the *Leitfaden*<sup>1</sup> of Professor Fredrich Loofs of Halle. The book passed rapidly from edition to edition, the third being improved in not a few things in the light of criticisms on previous issues. There are writers to whom, in our opinion, it does somewhat scant justice. One of these is Thomasius. But it is generally fair. While it gives a particularly good view of the idea and the history of Dogmas, according to the teaching of the school of Ritschl and Harnack, it furnishes valuable direction to the student over the whole field. It consists of three great divisions, which treat successively of the rise of a system of dogma in the Church, the development of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the transition from this to the Roman Catholic system, and the change to the Protestant system. Like Harnack, Professor Loofs regards the dogmatic process as virtually closed with the Reformation. Perhaps the most valuable parts of the book are those dealing with the movements which resulted in the accepted Trinitarian and Christological definitions. The sketch of the dogmatic developments within the Roman Catholic Church since the sixteenth century is also of considerable interest, though brief. The book is full of information, and shows the historian's insight.

The first part of the *Lehrbuch der Evangelischen Dogmatik*, contributed by Professor Friedrich Aug. Berth. Nitzsch, of Kiel to the well-known *Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher*, was published in 1889. It was well received, as was also the second part, which followed in 1891. We have the satisfaction of noticing the issue of a new and improved edition.<sup>2</sup> The first edition was reviewed by a competent hand in these pages,<sup>3</sup> and was described as a book that well maintained the reputation of the important series to which it belonged. It is enough to say of this revision, that it has

<sup>1</sup> Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte. Zunächst für seine Vorlesungen. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 482. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xviii. 610. Price, M.14.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II., p. 375.

made full and judicious use of the best literature which has appeared in the interval. The book accepts the more usual German idea of a system of Dogmatics as a statement and defence of the contents of the Evangelical faith or consciousness. But it carries out this idea in an independent spirit and with some peculiarities of method. Starting with the fundamental testimony of the Christian consciousness to what Christ is, it deals first with Christianity as Religion, Revelation, and Protestantism. Then passing on from the general to the special, it unfolds its system of Dogmatic truth under the three divisions of Anthropology, Theology, and Christology. This is a somewhat unusual order, and among the peculiarities connected with it we find that the doctrines of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Last Things are given under the topic of Christology. The book is an able one. It makes a very good handbook, and is worthy of the acceptance which it has gained in Germany.

Mr T. Bailey Saunders, M.A., continues his interesting series of translations of select writings of Schopenhauer. The volume now before us, entitled *On Human Nature*,<sup>1</sup> consists of Essays, partly posthumous, in Ethics and Politics, taken from the chapters *Zur Ethik* and *Zur Rechtslehre und Politik* in the *Parerga* and in the posthumous writings. They give much that was characteristic in Schopenhauer's views on Human Nature, Government, Free-Will and Fatalism, Character, and Moral Instinct. The volume is a very readable one. It concludes with a collection of Ethical Reflections, in which the philosopher descants on the natural stupidity of innocence, the contradiction in the categorical imperative, the duty of exercising "an almost boundless toleration and placability," etc.

Friedrich Nippold's *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte*<sup>2</sup> is now in its third edition. That is sufficient testimony to its acceptability. It fills a space which was too long left vacant in theological literature, and it fills it well. It would be difficult to say which of the volumes is of most interest. The first gives an Introduction to the Church History of our century; the second tells the story of the Papacy in recent times; the third does the same for Protestantism; and the fourth is devoted specially to the recent history of the American Churches. The second part of the third volume is now before us in this revised issue. It follows up the sketch of *German Theology* which formed the contents of the first part by a statement of *Interconfessional Questions*, etc. It is full of instructive matter on the various religious and theological movements on the

<sup>1</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein. Cr. 8vo, pp. 132. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Dritte umgearbeitete Auflage. Dritter Band. Zweite Abtheilung: Interconfessionelle Zeitfragen und Zukunftsaufgaben. Hamburg: Gräfe und Sillem; Glasgow: Bauermeister, 1896. 8vo, pp. viii. 246.

Continent of Europe, most attention being naturally given to Germany. It gives abundant references to the literature of each question and each development. It is, in general, as fair as it is well informed. It is a most useful and readable history.

The new edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*<sup>1</sup> proceeds with pleasing regularity under the competent editorial care of Professor Schmiedel. We have now before us the first portion of the second division of the work—the Syntax. It deals with the article and part of the pronouns. Everything is done to bring Winer's full and masterly treatment of these up to date, and to make the book as exact, as exhaustive, and as handy for reference as possible.

Gustav Freytag's *Martin Luther*<sup>2</sup> has had a great and well deserved acceptance in the German Fatherland. It is one of the best popular accounts of the Reformer with which we are acquainted. It gives a vivid picture of the times, an appreciative study of the man, and a just estimate of his work. It is at the same time a work of literary art. An English translation is most welcome, and the one furnished by Mr Henry E. O. Heinemann will be read by many with pleasure.

We give a cordial welcome to a new series of publications with the general title of *Books of the Heart*. They are to be under the editorial care of Mr Alexander Smellie, M.A., and are to be confined (with one exception) to masterpieces in devotional literature by authors who have already gone into the world of light. The first two volumes are *The Confessions of St Augustine*<sup>3</sup> and Dr John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*.<sup>4</sup> They are furnished with Introductions, giving some account of the writings. These are done briefly, with discernment and in good style. The volumes are most attractive in type and in form. They should be widely appreciated.

The *Christian Classics Series*, published by the Religious Tract Society, has been the means of bringing some of the religious books which belong to all time within the reach of the humblest English reader. To such works as Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, Augustine's *Enchiridion*, Athanasius *On the Incarnation*, Basil the Great *On the Holy Spirit*, and Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, it adds

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Dr Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. II. Theil: Syntax. Erstes Heft. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 145-208. Price, M.1.

<sup>2</sup> Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1897. Large 8vo, pp. 127.

<sup>3</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 331. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> London: Andrew Melrose, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 341. Price, 2s. 6d.

*The Writings of St Patrick the Apostle of Ireland.*<sup>1</sup> They are given in the third edition of the Revised Translation. They embrace both the genuine writings (Hymn, Confession, and Epistle to Coroticus), and the doubtful (Sayings, Proverbs, Story of St Patrick and the Royal Daughters, Vision of the Future of Ireland, and Confession attributed to St Patrick). In addition to an appropriate Introduction and a very readable Sketch of St Patrick's Life, we have an Appendix, which furnishes Poetical Versions of the Hymn, and also some valuable notes. The ancient Irish Hymn is given both in the original Irish and in a translation in modern Irish. The book is an attractive and seasonable addition to this excellent series.

*The Four First Things and other Essays*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a collection of papers by Mr J. E. A. Brown, author of *Thoughts Through the Year*, etc. They deal with such subjects as Life, Character, Childhood, Love, the Greater Glory, etc. There is nothing very novel in them. They are a series of musings, rather than connected studies. They discuss old themes in a pleasing way and in a style which is sometimes piquant. Now and again there is something of the quaint in both the title and the thought. This is the case with the Essays on "A little Crooked Lane" (a series of reflections on Compromise), "Spiritual Geology," the "Sense of Humour in its relation to a Future State," and the "Sorrows of our Guardian Angels."

Pastor Hermann Hachfeld publishes the first part of what is likely to be an exhaustive historical study of *Luther's Smaller Catechism*.<sup>3</sup> The present section gives a full list of literature. It then goes into an elaborate statement of all that occurred in the way of preparation for this particular department of the Reformer's activity. Much curious information is given regarding Luther's sermons in 1523 and 1528, the visitation of the Churches of Saxony in 1528, 1529, the Catechisms of Brenz, Althammer, Lachmann and others, and various other subjects. A long and able chapter is devoted to an exposition of the evangelical character of Luther's Smaller Catechism and the use to be made of it, in which also we have some good paragraphs on the distinction between the Romish doctrine and the Evangelical on the articles of penitence, absolution, etc. The work is a study at first hand from the sources. It is executed with great pains and with a fervid enthusiasm.

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, B.D. Third Edition, considerably enlarged. London: R. T. S. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price, 2s.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Kleine Katechismus Martin Luthers: ein wundervolles Buch in seiner jetzt erkannten Bedeutung.* Erster Teil: Die Geschichte seiner Vorarbeiten. Helmstedt: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xviii. 150. Price M.2.50.



Professors Schlatter of Berlin and Cremer of Greifswald begin a series of *Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*. The first bears the title *Der Dienst des Christen in der älteren Dogmatik*,<sup>1</sup> and is by Professor Schlatter. It makes full acknowledgment of what we owe to the theology of the Reformation era. But it calls attention also to certain things in which the religious thought of the present day differs from that of these days, and to certain things in which the former was deficient. Among others it deals with the imperfect ideas which prevailed on such subjects as missionary duty, and the one-sided teaching on Sanctification, Freedom, Inspiration, the Humanity of our Lord, and other important sections of doctrine. The author finds in the survey cause for thankfulness that the change in all these things has been to the great gain of Christian faith and Christian thought, and reason for aiming at a new and profounder study of the Word.

*Buddha, Mohammed, Christus*<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a comparative study of the three great systems of Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The author, Robert Falke of Erfurt, has published the first part of his contemplated work, in which the founders of these systems are compared. This is done with care and insight. The relative documents and the historical background form in each case the first subject of enquiry. The career of each of the three founders is then studied at length, and the tenets are used for the formation of historically valid estimates of the three personalities and characters. This makes the bulk of the volume, and it is followed by a rapid, but vivid and instructive, survey of the history of the three Churches. The book is meant for the general public, and is of a popular form. It is based, however, on the historical investigations of scholars like Oldenberg, Köppen, Bastian, Neumann, Sprenger, Weil, von Cremer, Geiger, Pichon and others. We shall look with expectation for its completion.

Another volume of *Sermons*<sup>3</sup> reaches us, testifying to the unwearied industry of the late Canon Liddon in his ministerial vocation. It consists of a number of discourses preached on special occasions, covering a period of twenty-nine years, most of which have already been issued separately. But they will be welcome in this collected form. They include some of the most finished specimens of Canon Liddon's work. They are on great themes, Christ's Welcome to the Penitent, Profit and Loss, Christ and

<sup>1</sup> Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Erster darstellender Teil : Vergleich der drei Persönlichkeiten. Gütersloh : Bertelsmann ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Sermons Preached on Special Occasions, 1860-1889. London : Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 359. Price, 5s.

Education, and the like. Those on The Conflict with undue Exaltation of Intellect (2 Cor. x. 5), The Victor in Times of Preparation (Isaiah xl. 3), and Love and Knowledge (Phil. i. 9) are particularly rich and effective.

Students of Richard Rothe owe much to Dr Rudolf Ahrendts for his *Uebersicht der Theologischen Ethik*.<sup>1</sup> It is taken from Rothe's own manuscript Lectures, and helps one much in the study of one of the greatest contributions made to theology in our century.

We are indebted to Dr Julius Lindenmeyer for the publication of Professor J. T. Beck's Exposition of *Peter's Epistles*.<sup>2</sup> Though exegesis was not the great Tübingen professor's strongest point, his work in this department, as well as in others, was of undoubted value, and his interpretation of these Epistles contains much that deserves attention. Of particular interest are the views which he takes of such passages in the First Epistle, i. 1; i. 12; i. 19; iii. 19, etc.; iv. 17, etc.; and in the Second Epistle, i. 5, etc.; ii. 4, etc. Beck put the impress of his vigorous mind on many. All who have come under his stimulating influence will value this volume.

*A Survey of Foreign Missions*,<sup>3</sup> by the Rev. P. Barclay, M.A., gives a rapid, but interesting, sketch of the wide field of missionary effort in Asia, Oceania, Africa, and America. Following Paul's principle, "To the Jew first," Mr Barclay assigns the first place in his narrative to Jewish missions. From that he proceeds to the story of Armenia, which has so painful an interest at present, to missions in Bible lands, in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, and the great centres of the East, to those among the islands, in Egypt, Abyssinia, and all the parts of Africa, in North and South America, from Alaska to Patagonia. The book is furnished with good maps. It contains a good deal of matter which should be of interest to all who have a regard for the Church's missionary duty. It is written in the spirit of one who feels how sacred that duty is, and who has a deep faith in "the blessedness of its discharge."

There are some excellent things in the Rev. Henry Burton's *Gleanings in the Gospels*.<sup>4</sup> Some of the studies have already appeared in the *Expositor*. But the author has judged rightly in publishing them in this form, and in adding others of a similar kind. They make an interesting volume. Among the most attractive papers are those on the *Wise Men*, the *Marriage at Cana*, and *Christ and the Temple*. That on *The Breakfast on the Shore* is also worth careful reading. The point of our Lord's

<sup>1</sup> Bremen: M. Heinsius Nachfolger. 8vo, pp. xvi. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Erklärung der Briefe Petri. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 272.

<sup>4</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. 304. Price, 3s. 6d.

question, *Lovest thou Me?* seems, however, to be missed. The distinction between the ἀγαπᾶν and the φιλεῖν is but partially grasped. It is not enough to say of the former that it is the more distant term. It has the note of respect, and looks to the dignity of the person who is the object of the affection. Peter's grief was caused by the third question, not merely because it was the third, but because the change of the word seemed to imply that Christ doubted then whether he had even personal affection for him. Some of the studies, especially the one on Judas Iscariot, can scarcely be regarded as adequate. With respect to most of the papers we could wish that Mr Burton, having written well of the more obvious questions involved in the subjects, might have ventured further into those that are more difficult.

The author of *Evil and Evolution*<sup>1</sup> has written a book which, whatever opinion may be taken of its conclusions, holds one's attention, and we are not surprised to learn that the first edition has been rapidly taken up. It is described as an "Attempt to turn the light of Modern Science on the Ancient Mystery of Evil." It is entirely true to this profession. It makes no appeal to the Bible nor any use of its teaching, but confines itself vigorously to an examination of the old problem in the light of physical science, and more particularly in that of the theory of Evolution. Its result is that "the simplest and most satisfactory solution" of the riddle of all the ages is "just the old one—that the Supreme Ruler, in His beneficent activity in the Universe, is confronted by another power; that in the absolute literal sense of the word God is not omnipotent." The author is not content with a merely negative or defensive position. It is not enough for him to prove that the assumption of a second power in the universe limiting God is not inconsistent with the theory of Evolution. His object is to show that this assumption is a solid scientific hypothesis, and one that has the advantage of "explaining more of the moral and physical phenomena in the world than any other conceivable one." He makes a bold and vigorous stand for this answer to the enigma of evil. His argument is not conclusive, but it is presented with great ability; the book gives us much to think of, especially in its criticisms of the various theories of the place and purpose of evil. It may be a book to dissent from. It is certainly a book to profit by.

The latest addition to the attractive "Golden Nails" Series is a volume bearing the title of *Kingless Folk*.<sup>2</sup> It is a series of addresses to young people on Bible animals—the ant, the bear, the

<sup>1</sup> By the author of "The Social Horizon." London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 184. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. John Adams, B.D., Inverkeilor. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Post 8vo, pp. 181. Price, 1s. 6d.

dove, the coney, the eagle, etc. The titles of the discourses are often very happy, e.g., "A born mathematician" (of the bee), "A house of gossamer" (of the spider). The style is simple and direct. The lessons are put briefly and with point. All is done with care and good taste. The book is very suitable for those for whom it is specially intended.

We have received *A Selection of Passages of Unpointed Hebrew*<sup>1</sup> (taken from Genesis, Isaiah, and the Psalms), admirably printed and likely to be of much use to students; the *Elements of Hebrew Grammar*,<sup>2</sup> a concise compendium with useful exercises, by Michael Adler, B.A., Minister of the Hammersmith and West Kensington Synagogue; a *History of Lay Preaching in the Christian Church*,<sup>3</sup> a subject which has all the fascination of novelty, and is handled in a very instructing and interesting way; a compact and useful outline of *The Prophecies of Isaiah*,<sup>4</sup> by Maximilian Lindsay Kellner, M.A., Assistant Professor of the Old Testament Languages in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, presenting the writings in their chronological order and in their relations to the contemporary Assyrio-Babylonian records, and giving the results of the studies of the best critics of our time; a *brochure* on the Stundist Movement in Russia,<sup>5</sup> in which Dr Hermann Dalton gives to a larger public a paper of much interest, delivered originally before the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Glasgow last year; another section of Dr G. H. Lamers's *De Wetenschap van den Godsdienst*<sup>6</sup>—a large and important contribution to the Utrecht series of *Nieuwe Bijdragen op het Gebied van Godgeleerdheid en Wijsbegeerte*; a tasteful volume in which a number of our Lord's Parables are explained in a simple and telling way for the benefit of young people;<sup>7</sup> also a series of *Practical Studies on the Parables of our Lord*,<sup>8</sup> which, while not attempting to give any complete or exact exegesis, bring out in a clear and profitable way the most obvious lessons of the Parables and apply their leading ideas to the direction and enrichment of the everyday Christian life; a series of Studies on the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, under the

<sup>1</sup> By W. H. Bennett, M.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, 1s.

<sup>2</sup> London: David Nutt, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 48. Price, 1s. net.

<sup>3</sup> By John Telford, B.A. (Books for Bible Students.) London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 236. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge: Mass. 4to, pp. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Der Stundismus in Russland. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 8vo, pp. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Wijsgeerig Deel. Vierde Stuk. Utrecht: Breijer, 1897. 8vo, pp. 510-700.

<sup>7</sup> Thirty-one Parables Explained. By Louisa Horsley. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 76.

<sup>8</sup> By B. W. Maturin, of the Society of S. John the Evangelist. London: Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 295. Price, 5s.

title *The Old Faith or the New—Which?*<sup>1</sup> dealing specially with the Person of the Son, His Official Positions, the Sanctuary, the Sacrifice, and the Exhortations, modestly stated, bringing out with some care the points in which this Epistle differs from others in its “range of truth and its design,” and showing how alien to Christianity, as it is presented in this letter, are all “ritualistic practices found on the Jewish form of worship”; a reprint of an incisive Open Letter on the question *May Baptismal Regeneration be Taught within the Church of Scotland?*<sup>2</sup> published originally in the *British Weekly*; an addition to the series of *Present Day Primers*, in which, under the title of *Old Testament Criticism and the Rights of the Unlearned*,<sup>3</sup> Dr John Kennedy, Honorary Professor, New College, London, pleads in an earnest way for the rights and powers of non-experts in Biblical Study, and defines what these rights and powers are; the fourth<sup>4</sup> and fifth<sup>5</sup> parts of the fifteenth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, containing the literature on *Practical Theology* and the Register for the year 1895, an invaluable guide to the student, so ably edited by Professors H. Holtzmann and G. Krüger; an outline of the run of thought in Frank’s *System of Christian Truth*,<sup>6</sup> carefully prepared and giving welcome guidance to the study of a theological treatise of great importance but by no means easy to understand; a second and improved addition of Orelli’s *Das Buch Ezechiel*,<sup>7</sup> a laborious, concise, and useful commentary, without much claim to novelty or brilliancy; *The Story of George Washington*,<sup>8</sup> an admirable contribution to the *Splendid Lives Series*, from the skilful pen of Mr G. Barnett Smith, giving a just and appreciative sketch of the great American as patriot, scholar, and statesman; *Heroines of the Cross*<sup>9</sup> and *Heroines of Travel*<sup>10</sup> two additions to the *Heroines’ Library* of the Sunday

<sup>1</sup> London: Marlborough & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 266. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small 8vo, pp. 48. Price, 6d.

<sup>3</sup> London: R. T. S. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, 1s.

<sup>4</sup> *Praktische Theologie und Kirchliche Kunst.* Bearbeitet von Marbach, Ehlers, Woltersdorf, Kind, Everling, Hasenclever und Spitta. Braunschweig: Schwetschke. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 475-616. Price, M. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Register, bearbeitet von L. Plöthner. 8vo, pp. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Gedankengang des v. Frank’schen Systems der Christlichen Wahrheit.* Von Wilhelm Vollert, Oberlehrer am Fürstlichen Gymnasium zu Gera. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 96. Price, M. 1.60.

<sup>7</sup> *Kurzgefasster Kommentar.* Hrsg. von Dr Hermann Strack und Dr Otto Zöckler. München: Beck, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 200. Price, M. 3.50.

<sup>8</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s.

<sup>9</sup> Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.

<sup>10</sup> Cr. 8vo, pp. 160. Price, 1s.



School Union, both attractive in style, carefully written, of varied and interesting contents; a volume by Pastor Geo. Stosch on *The Origin of Genesis*,<sup>1</sup> written in a popular style and in a strongly conservative spirit, in strenuous antagonism to the "destructive criticisms of a disintegrating science," accepting the view, however, that "documents of most ancient times" are used in the narrative, but accepting that in the old form given to it by Vitranga; a treatise by Otto Ziemssen, *Makrokosmos*<sup>2</sup> by name, which attempts to give a theory of the world in harmony with Scripture and Science, contains some good sentiments on transmigration and related ideas, and discloses, among other curious things, the fact that about a quarter of a century ago there were German pastors who refused to accept the Copernican theory; an edition of *Milton's Comus*,<sup>3</sup> with Introduction, Paraphrase, and a large and most useful collection of Notes, by Professor R. Scott of the Wilson College, Bombay.

In the fourth *Heft* of the current year of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* Dr Ernst Sellin gives a sympathetic sketch of the late Professor August Köhler of Erlangen, well known as an able Old Testament student of the school of Delitzsch and Von Hofmann; Professor Klostermann of Kiel continues his *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs*, dealing specially with Exodus xxv.-xxxi., and xxxv.-xl.; Pastor Wohlenberg of Altona writes on *Jesus Sirach und die soziale Frage*; and Professor Fritz Hommel contributes a brief paper on the *Arphaxad* question, in which he discusses Professor Cheyne's explanation in the *Expositor*, and rejects his conjectural emendation of the text into "Arpach (and) Chesed," to be taken as Arrapachitis and Chaldaea. In the fifth *Heft*, Professor Klostermann concludes his *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs*; Dr R. Zehnpfund writes on the "Law" in the Pauline Epistles; and Dr Fredrich Wiegand of Erlangen contributes a paper on *Die Kuppelmosaiken im katholischen Baptisterium in Ravenna*.

The April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* is remarkable for the number of articles of general interest which are found alongside its more technical discussions and reviews. Among others there is a very readable paper by Professor Frank Granger of Nottingham on *The Moral Life of the Early Romans*, the object of which is to show how much we owe to the old Romans in the realm of practice, how the natural hardness of the Roman temper was intensified by the institution of slavery, and in what measure the Latin people exhibited the "excellencies and the

<sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 211. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Versuch einer Systematik des Kopernikanismus. Gotha: Thienemann. Cr. 8vo, pp. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay: Cooper & Cooper. Pp. 321.

defects of a life which is controlled by rule and not by practice." Muhammad Abdul Ghani gives a view of *Social Life and Morality in India*, especially as regards the condition of women, which will look strange to most European readers. Professor Burnet of St Andrews contributes a brief but suggestive paper on *Law and Nature in Greek Ethics*.

The second part of the second year of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* gives M. Hippolyte M. Hemmer's second and concluding article on *Manning Before his Conversion*. In the same number, and in the third, M. Alfred Loisy contributes further papers on the *Prologue to the Fourth Gospel*, in which he discusses verses 12-18 at length, and with much acuteness. He makes a clever but unsuccessful attempt to recommend the reading *qui natus est* in verse 13. On the other hand, he gives a view of the reading, "only begotten Son," very like Hort's.

The *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. viii., No. 2, contains two papers, that will make entertaining and instructive reading—a *Study of Fears* by G. Stanley Hall, and a *Study of Conversion* by Edwin D. Starbuck. Both are elaborate papers, embodying the results of returns made to queries addressed to a multitude of individuals, and giving a mass of curious information on the impressions of different kinds of fears, and the mental and spiritual processes at work in religious conversions of different types.

The fifth number of the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique* for the year contains, among other things, valuable reviews of Röhrich's *La Composition des Évangiles* by E. Ménégoz, and Montet's *Histoire du peuple Israël d'après l'Ancien Testament* by Adolphe Lods.

A boon of no ordinary moment is conferred on students of the New Testament by the completion of the *Concordance*<sup>1</sup> which has been in preparation for some years by Dr Moulton and Mr Geden. A new Concordance to the Greek New Testament has been long wanted. Since the publication of the Revised Version and the volumes of Westcott and Hort the need of such a book has been more and more felt by English scholars. The want is now splendidly supplied by this handsome and admirably printed volume, which does the utmost credit both to the publishers and to the editors. It has had the benefit of the general superintendence of the head of the Leys College, Cambridge, a veteran in matters of

<sup>1</sup> A Concordance to the Greek Testament according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, and the English Revisers, edited by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M.A., D.D., etc., and Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A., Tutor in Biblical Literature, Exegesis, and Classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1897. Crown 4to, pp. xii., 1037. Price, 26s. net; in half-morocco, or in half-calf, 31s. 6d. net.

New Testament Greek. The work of revision and correction has also had the advantage of the careful eye of the Rev. J. H. Moulton, who has made a special study of the grammar of the Greek New Testament. But for the bulk of the work we are indebted to the trained and patient hand of Mr Geden. It has been an exceptionally heavy task, but it has been discharged with conspicuous faithfulness and success. So far as we have had occasion to test the book, we have found it a reliable and most useful guide. Nothing has been spared by the editors in respect of toil, nor by the publishers in point of outlay, to make the book all that is desirable. The result is a Concordance which must displace all others, and which will remain for many a year the trusted companion of the student of the New Testament. It costs one a pang to part with Bruder. But useful as it has been, and greatly improved as it is in its latest edition, it represents in the main only the Textus Receptus, and any service it can render us beyond that is partial and unsatisfactory. In this new book, on the other hand, we have the guide which we need to the new critical text, Westcott and Hort's being properly taken as the fundamental form, but the special readings of Tregelles and the Revisers being also given. The abbreviations are simple and easily understood. The Hebrew is given beneath the Greek in the case of all direct quotations from the Old Testament. Another feature of the work which should be specially mentioned is the help which it furnishes us in comparing the use of the characteristic terms of the Greek New Testament with their occurrence in the classical writers, the Apocryphal books, and the Greek versions of the Old Testament. This has been a difficult thing to do. It has been worth attempting, and much valuable light is shed upon the history and significance of important terms. The book should be speedily in the hand of all students of the New Testament.

*The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*<sup>1</sup> is the title given to the series of Yale Lectures on Preaching for 1896. The author is Dr Henry Van Dyke, the well-known pastor of the Brick Church, New York. He has selected a subject which, at first sight, seems less germane to a course of lectures on preaching than others that have been delivered on the Yale Foundation. But his treatment of it makes it appropriate to his special task, and most seasonable. He deals with the matter, not the manner, of preaching, and attempts to show how the message of the Gospel, if it is to be a message to the present generation, must be at once an old message in touch with the past, and a new message, "in line with the upward movement of humanity through the ages." This reconciliation of the old and

<sup>1</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 457. Price, 8s. 6d.

the new, this presentation of the Gospel in the vividness and originality which it ought to have for every new age, and yet in "reverent harmony with the faith and hope and love which have already cheered and purged and blessed the best of human lives," is to be found, he thinks, in a "personal view of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." What he proposes, therefore, to do is to give a view of Christianity, not as "a complex system of doctrine," but as "a spiritual life"—a religion with a Person at the heart of it who "carries in Himself the evidence of a spiritual world."

With this object in view he speaks first of our age as one of doubt, and then unfolds what he means by the *Gospel of a Person* in a series of chapters on the Unveiling of the Father, the Human Life of God, the Source of Authority, Liberty, Sovereignty, and Service. It is, perhaps, inevitable to the development of a subject of this kind that certain things should be put in somewhat overstrained terms. We feel this now and again in what is said of the place of Doctrine in Christianity, of the Divine Fatherhood, and of the Divine Sovereignty. In these Dr Van Dyke's statements require some balance. But in the main his argument is just, reasonable, and conciliatory. He touches on many subjects, some of them of great difficulty. He has always something of practical value to say. His remarks on such questions as Evolution, the Trinity, the Kenotic Movement, are good instances of that. He is the master of an attractive style, with little to offend the English ear. The book carries the reader pleasantly on from chapter to chapter. The devout and candid spirit in which it approaches all questions of faith, and the sympathy with which it meets the case of the uncertain and perplexed, make it the kind of book that should help many minds in these times. Its usefulness is increased by the addition of a large appendix, giving at length many interesting passages which are referred to as authorities in the several lectures.

Dr J. Murray Mitchell's *Hinduism Past and Present*<sup>1</sup> appears in a new edition. It deserves the acceptance which it has enjoyed. In brief compass it gives a lucid, interesting, and instructive survey of an immense field, and strikes the happy mean between what the professed scholar demands and what the ordinary reader requires. The best use has been made of the most reliable authorities. The book represents a vast deal of honest work, and furnishes a very useful outline of the course which Hinduism has run from the Vedic period till now. The outstanding facts regarding the social life of the Hindus, the system of caste, the ancient ritual, the modern feasts and fasts, the sects, the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the reconstruction of Brahmanism, are stated in a

<sup>1</sup> London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price, 4s.

clear and interesting way. Excellent accounts are also given of the sacred books and the philosophical treatises, so that the reader gains an intelligent view of the main points of Hindu faith and thought. In this second and carefully revised edition, Dr Mitchell's volume will be more useful than ever.

Dr George Holley Gilbert, Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary, has published a new Life of our Lord, which he calls *The Student's Life of Jesus*.<sup>1</sup> It is written, as its title indicates, with a view to the particular needs of *Students*, and, therefore, on the plan of giving as clear and direct a statement as possible of the historical facts and these alone. It omits the entire subject of our Lord's *teaching*, and in giving the facts of His life on earth, it avoids any attempt to weave them into an artistic story, to indicate their devotional lessons, or to present them with an elaborateness that is inconsistent with a distinct and sharp outline. It is not so full as Andrews' admirable *Life of our Lord*. But it gives a careful and useful digest, such as a student values. It is carefully done, and will be appreciated by those for whom it has been specially written.

The Dean of Canterbury's book on *The Bible*,<sup>2</sup> which has been expected for sometime, is now in the hands of the public. It need not be said that, like everything which comes from Dr Farrar's pen, it is eloquently written. At times its eloquence is too much for us. More frequent relief from the rush of words and the heaping of epithets, would be welcome. It is, however, essentially a popular book, intended for the general reader, and designed to reach as large a circle as possible. In justice it must be taken in the light of its obvious purpose. It is impossible to claim for it scholarly value, or to speak of it as any contribution to the questions of weightiest moment touching the nature and function of Scripture and the mutual relations of Revelation and the Written Word. It has something in point to say of the boldness and independence of Luther. But it cannot be affirmed of it that it shows any adequate acquaintance with Luther's doctrine of the Word of God as a whole. Still less does it give any evidence of a first-hand knowledge of Calvin's view, while on subjects like the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti* in relation to the inspiration and authority of Scripture, it is disappointing.

What it does is to dispose of certain mistaken or exaggerated ideas of the Bible which have prevailed from time to time, and to prepare the popular mind for a worthier and more reasonable con-

<sup>1</sup> Chicago: Press of Chicago Theological Seminary, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 412.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy*. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. xv. 335. Price, 15s.



ception of what it is. It gives, therefore, a short account of the way in which Scripture has come to be what it is by the process of a gradual collection, separation, and canonisation of certain writings out of many. It shows in what sense these writings exhibit essential unity with immense variety. It exposes the absurdities of the allegorical method of interpretation, and deals with the fact of the non-homogeneity of the morality found in the different sections. It has much to say of the evils of the theory of "supernatural dictation," the wresting of tests, and the difficulties of Scripture which have been made objections to its authority. It closes with some interesting chapters on the supremacy of Scripture, its consolations, and what it has been both to individual souls and to nations.

Too much is made of forms of opinion, such as the theory of verbal inspiration, which have now small importance. Too much is said of the mistakes of theologians. It is the easiest matter in the world to make a parade of the weaknesses and blunders of which great men, whether in theology or in science, have been guilty. But a little of that goes a long way; and if Dr Farrar's book has an existence of a century or two, our wise children may possibly find something to smile at even in it. On the whole, it must be confessed that this is not the book to bring satisfaction to the most exercised minds. There are those, however, whom it will help, and its object is one with which all can sympathise. It is to save Scripture from being wounded in the house of its friends; to tell how much it has suffered in that way in our own time and in former centuries; and, by showing what it is and what it is not, to provide a support for faith which has been shaken by assaults on Scripture, or confused by erroneous notions of its mission. It is also an eloquent vindication of Christian liberty in relation to the criticism of the Scriptures, and for this and other things it will be gratefully received.

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**Letter Apostolic of His Holiness Leo XIII., by Divine Providence Pope, concerning Anglican Orders.**

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Divina Providentia Papae XIII., Litterae Apostolicae de Ordinationibus Anglicanis.* London: Burns & Oates, 1896. 8vo, pp. 49. Price 6d.

**Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordination, Addressed to the whole Body of Bishops of the Catholic Church.**

London: Longmans, 1897. 8vo, sewed, pp. 48. *Latin Version*, 1s. *French Version*, 1s.

THESE two official documents are of great importance for the present and the future relations of the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Communions. The decision of the Pope is adverse to the validity of Anglican orders, and the Anglican Archbishops maintain their validity. From this point of view it seems as if an insuperable obstacle to reunion had been reached. Yet a more careful study of these documents makes it evident that a very great advance towards reunion has been made and a door to further opportunities is still open.

1. It is a decided gain that the Pope has narrowed the range of the discussion and concentrated it in his statement that "in pronouncing the decision in the Gordon case in 1704 weight was given to no other reason than the *defect of form and intention*"; and the Pope limits his re-examination of the case to these two points. Thus an immense amount of irrelevant material is swept out of the field of discussion for all future time.

2. A further gain is in the position taken by the Anglican Archbishops when they say: "We acknowledge therefore, with the Pope that laying on of hands is the matter of ordination; we acknowledge that the form is prayer or blessing appropriate to the ministry to be conferred; we acknowledge that the intention of the Church, as far as it is externally manifested, is to be ascertained, so that we may discern if it agrees with the mind of the Lord and His Apostles and with the Statutes of the Universal Church." This still further limits the range of difference to the questions, what constitutes valid form and intention in ordination, and

whether the Anglican form and intention are so defective as to render ordination invalid.

3. The question is in part an historical question, and is to be decided on matters of fact by historical evidence. The Pope reopened the case which had been decided in 1704, and reviewed the evidence with the help of twelve judges, "whose opinions in the matter were known to be divergent." They had access to "all documents bearing on this question which were known to exist in the Vatican archives," and had authority "to search for new ones, and even to have at their disposal all acts relating to this subject which are adduced by learned men on both sides." There can be no reasonable doubt that the case was considered in a careful, calm and judicial manner. It was unanimously decided on the evidence before the court, and then after further deliberation this decision was ratified by the Pope. And yet the Pope's decision cannot be accepted by the Christian world as final. The best words in the Answer of the Anglican Archbishops are those in which they challenge the evidence and demand its publication. "Therefore all those documents ought to be made public if the matter is to be put on a fair footing for judgment." "The documents are preserved in the keeping of the holy Office and ought to be published if the interest of historical truth is to be consulted."

There is no reason to doubt the goodwill of the present Pope—his intent to give the case a careful, honest, and upright consideration and to make an equitable final decision. But the Anglican Archbishops contest the accuracy of the evidence and its sufficiency. How could the Pope be certain that all his evidence was accurate and that all the evidence was before him? It is quite possible that the Anglican Archbishops might invalidate some of the evidence, and that they might present valuable counter-evidence from the archives of Great Britain if they had the opportunity. This demand for the publication of the evidence is a righteous demand. There is no valid reason why the Pope should not comply with it. It is greatly to be desired that he should, in the interest of historical truth, and for the vindication before the world of his own decision. Then if the evidence can be impeached, the Anglicans must do it; if they have other evidence they must adduce it. Then the Pope may be justified in re-opening the case. He must do so, according to Canon Law, if a sufficient amount of new evidence is presented to materially alter the case. He would doubtless do so gladly under any such circumstances. At present the Anglican Bishops have the advantage of the discussion at this point, and they will retain this advantage until the Pope yields to their reasonable request and publishes his evidence. Then it is altogether probable that the advantage will pass over to the papal side; for it is im-

probable that any evidence of importance can be produced which has not already been duly considered by the papal courts. The historical question after all is simply this, whether the form of ordination in the Edwardine Ordinal was valid. As the Pope says, "the judgment of the Pontiff applies universally to all Anglican ordinations, because, although it refers to a particular case (that of Gordon) it is not based upon any reason special to that case, but upon the *defect of form*, which defect equally affects all these ordinations." The defect, according to the Roman opinion, is a defect in the Ordinal itself and not in any particular thing in the ordination of Gordon. This is sound reasoning. Unless the Archbishops can show that the Edwardine Ordinal contains a valid form of ordination, they have no case. The Pope well says :

"The words, which, until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination, namely, '*Received the Holy Ghost*,' certainly do not in the least definitely express the grand order of priesthood or its grace and power. . . . This form had, indeed, afterwards added to it the words, '*for the office and work of a priest*,' etc., but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate. But, even if this addition could give to the form its due significance, it was introduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal ; for as the Hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining." The Anglican Archbishops seek to avoid this powerful argumentation in this way ; they say : "This form, then, whether contained in one sentence as in the Roman Church, or in two as in ours, is amply sufficient to create a Bishop, if the true intention be openly declared, which is done in other prayers and suffrages (which clearly refer to the office, work and ministry of a Bishop), in the examination, and other like ways." But this argument was anticipated by the Pope when he says : "In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of orders from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show these (prayers) to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let this argument suffice for all : from them has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and offices of the priesthood in the Catholic rite." In other words, the plea that "true intention" is expressed in other parts of the services is overcome by the contention that that intention itself is void of the essential significance of priesthood. Thus the whole question rests, according to the Anglican Archbishops, on the "true intention" of the other parts of the ordination service.

(4.) The essential question in debate is thus evidently that of *intention*. Here, again, we need not go further than the Edwardine



Ordinal. As the Pope says: "The history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to the end they had in view—under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they corrupted in many ways the liturgical order to suit the errors of the reformers. For this reason in the whole Ordinal, not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the priesthood, and of the powers of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In this way the native character, or spirit, as it is called, of the Ordinal clearly manifests itself. Hence, if vitiated in its origin, it was wholly insufficient to confer orders."

How do the Bishops meet this strong argument? It would have been their glory if they had said, Yes, it is true the Anglican Church took part in the Reformation. It became thereby a National Reformed Church. It removed all these Roman errors from the Liturgy. It was not the intention of the Reformers to ordain priests to offer sacrifices. But instead of this, the Anglican Archbishops try to maintain the validity of the intention of the Ordinal. They urge that the intent of the Edwardine Ordinal was to ordain priests to offer sacrifices. "We confidently assert that our Ordinal, particularly in this last point, is superior to the Roman Pontifical in various ways, inasmuch as it expresses more clearly and faithfully these things which, by Christ's institution belong to the nature of priesthood and the effect of the Catholic rites used in the Universal Church." Again: "For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice." This, then, is the priesthood and sacrifice which the Anglican Archbishops find in the intention of the Edwardine Ordinal.

(a) The first thing to be considered is whether the Anglican Archbishops have correctly interpreted the intention of the Edwardine Ordinal. This is an historical question, which can only be determined by the Ordinal itself, in the circumstances of its composition and use, and in the opinions of its authors and users.

The Anglican Archbishops are not competent witnesses for the reign of Edward the Sixth; they must present historical evidence from that reign. They do not, in their Answer, overcome the Pope's statements as to the "animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church," and the deliberate removal from the prayers of the Catholic rite, which they retained, of every trace of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the priesthood and of the powers of consecrating and offering sacrifice. The Archbishops are weak in their Answer at this essential point. It is of great importance that it should be made very clear by indisputable evidence whether the Edwardine Ordinal was intended to ordain priests to offer sacrifices, and if so, in what sense of priest and sacrifice.

(b) The Archbishops wisely say: "Too precise definitions of the manner of the sacrifice, or of the relation which unites the sacrifice of the eternal Priest and the sacrifice of the Church, which in some way certainly are one, ought in our opinion to be avoided rather than pressed into prominence." All who have at heart the Reunion of Christendom must sympathise with these words. At the same time, it is necessary that there should be a definition of priesthood and of sacrifice, which shall be at once historic and intelligible. If we recognise that priest and sacrifice may be used in various significations, we should seek a definition sufficiently comprehensive to embrace all these legitimate significations. That is the pathway to Reunion. The first question which emerges here is whether the terms priest and sacrifice are used by the Anglican Archbishops in their Answer in a legitimate sense. It is not sufficient to show that the sense given to these terms by the Archbishops is well known in the Church of England at this time, or that it has been a common Anglican opinion since the Reformation; no sense of priest or sacrifice can be legitimate which does not rest upon Biblical and Catholic usage. This is recognised by the Archbishops, as we understand them. They "confidently assert" that "our Ordinal, particularly in this last point, is superior to the Roman Pontifical in various ways, inasmuch as it expresses more clearly and faithfully those things which by Christ's institution belong to the nature of the priesthood and the effect of the Catholic rites used in the Universal Church." But it was not sufficient for the Archbishops to "confidently assert" this. They were called upon to prove it by indubitable evidence; for it is not evident in itself, and has not been recognised as yet by Roman Catholics, or indeed, so far as we know, by any but Anglicans, and not even by all Anglicans. We may be permitted to doubt whether the Archbishops would find it easy to prove their confident assertion to the minds of theologians of other Churches. In their Answer it is doubtful whether they have carried conviction of it to anyone but themselves.

(c) If, now, we should admit that the Archbishops are correct in their interpretation of the intent of the Edwardine Ordinal, and that the Anglican Ordinal is more faithful to the Biblical and Catholic conceptions of priesthood and sacrifice than the Roman Pontifical, there would still remain the question whether it is possible to reconcile the Roman conception of priesthood and sacrifice with the Anglican. This, after all, is the greatest question for the Pope and for the Anglican Bishops. The Roman doctrine is definite. It is open to the objection that it is "too precise." It has, however, this advantage in the question under consideration, that it was the doctrine of the Church of England before the Reformation, and it was deliberately rejected by the Church of England at the Reformation, and another doctrine—less precise and less definite—was eventually substituted for it. There can be no doubt that a serious change was made in the intention of the Church of England in the matter of ordination. It was a deliberate rejection of the pre-Reformation intention, and it was the substitution of a new intention, which may have been truer to the intention of the original institution and of the ancient Catholic Church, but which certainly was not the intention of the Church of England for centuries before the Reformation. The Pope makes a great deal of this. The Anglican Archbishops slip easily over it. It is not difficult for the Anglicans to recognise the intention of the Roman ordination as valid, for the reason that there can be no doubt whatever as to the form and intent of the ordination. It is "too precise," but it includes all that the Anglicans regard as essential. It is very different with the Roman Catholics. The Edwardine Ordinal had no intention of ordaining priests to offer the sacrifice of the Mass; but the Anglicans of the time deliberately rejected all that Roman Catholics regarded as essential to priesthood and sacrifice. The Anglican priest has not been ordained to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. He cannot offer that sacrifice unless he is ordained with the intention to offer it. He must be ordained with that intention, if he has not been ordained with that intention before. All that the Anglican Archbishops urge as to the Anglican conceptions of priest and sacrifice amount to little, because they are so essentially different from the Roman that they are incapable of reconciliation. From this point of view, it is difficult to see how the Pope could have made any other decision than he has made. There is no real priesthood and no real sacrifice in the Anglican communion which Rome can recognise.

(d) A still higher question remains, and that is of vast importance for the whole Christian world—namely, whether it may not be possible to comprehend the Roman conception of priesthood and sacrifice with the Anglican conception, and all other conceptions, in

some more comprehensive conception. Such a comprehensive conception has not yet been conceived, but it is possible that the time may come, in a new Reformation of the Church, when it may be conceived and commonly accepted as the solution of all the great problems which centre about that most essential institution of our holy religion, the Holy Communion in the Body and Blood of our Lord. It is a distinct gain that the attention of the world is again called to this supreme question, and that the question of sacrifice is made the central one in connection with the Reunion of Christendom. Theologians of all Christian communions should give it more profound consideration in mutual charity and Christian love, seeking to contribute to that solution of all our difficulties which in the order of Providence, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, will at last be made.

(5.) This question in debate between the Pope and the Anglican Archbishops is of interest to all Christian communions. Many Anglicans have been too arrogant in their claims as to the validity and superiority of their ordination over ordination in other Protestant communions. They will doubtless continue to set a high value upon their ordination. But they have received another and a very wholesome lesson, that in the eyes of all the rest of the Christian world, the ordination of the Church of England is of no more validity than that of the other national Churches of the Reformation. The other national Churches base their ecclesiastical right upon an appeal from the Pope to Jesus Christ. The Anglican Reformers agreed with the other Reformers in this particular. It would be wholesome if the Church of England would return to the principles of its own Reformers. Protestant orders all rest firmly on the ground of the right of reformation and revolution. History justifies that right. When the time of the greater Reformation comes, the Roman Church will recognise the right of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and then, and then only, will the mutual recognition of orders take place in a reunited and reconstructed Christianity.

C. A. BRIGGS.

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**Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.**

*Von Adolf Harnack. Erster Theil. Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, bearbeitet von Lic. Erwin Preuschen. 2 Bde. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1893. 8vo, pp. lxi. 1021. Price, M.35, geb., M.38.*

**Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.**

*Von Adolf Harnack. Zweiter Theil. Die Chronologie. Erster Band; Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenaeus, mit einleitenden Untersuchungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi. 732. Price, M.25.*

PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK is the *Adamantius* of these days. His industry is an astonishment to the most indefatigable. His works are a surprise to the most capable, for their mass as well as for their variety and ability. To all his other toils he has added another undertaking that most men would think sufficient for the best energies of a life-time. He has set himself the immense task of constructing a complete critical history of early Christian literature. And the scale on which he has projected it is like the general largeness of his ideas. His purpose is to give as exhaustive a reply as is possible with the materials in our possession to these three questions—What were the writings of the Christians of the first three centuries? How many of them are extant now? And how have they come down to us? With this object in view he has to collect all the documents in question, to give critical editions of them, and to determine the many literary and historical questions which are connected with them.

It is a vast undertaking. If it is completed, it will rank among the monumental works of the Theology of our century. Nor is it beyond Professor Harnack to bring it to a successful issue. He has already accomplished a very considerable part of it. In 1893 he made his first contribution, and that a large and important one, to the execution of his project, by the publication of the massive volumes which are named above. These contain the literary material itself, and make a work that will stand comparison with the great historical collections of an older time. Nothing is left unrecorded. The smallest scraps, like the tiny Fayoum papyrus, are carefully reproduced. In the case of each document the manuscripts are indicated, with all the necessary information regarding their dates, localities, contents, and relations. Uncertain works and pseudonymous productions have their proper place. The



various *Acta* are given in their proper order, the genuine being distinguished from the spurious. Lists of Latin and Syriac translations, and catalogues of Slavonic and Coptic manuscripts are furnished. Nor is even this all. We have notices of Jewish works which were adapted to Christian use, and lists of the references to Christianity which are found in Pagan writings. Admirable indices are added, which make it easy for us to get at once at document, writer, or manuscript. In the preparation of these volumes Professor Harnack has had the able assistance of Mr Erwin Preuschen. They form a great storehouse of material, which will be of the utmost value to the student. No pains have been spared to make these collections complete. Nor will anything be left undone, we may be confident, to keep them abreast of the additions which may be made to our knowledge from year to year. Professor Harnack has already shown us, by communications to *Journals* since the issue of his volumes, how watchful an eye he keeps on all that happens.

He has now made a second contribution, also one of the greatest interest and importance, to the performance of his great task. That is the publication of the first part of the *Chronologie*. In this volume the period on to Irenaeus is dealt with. What comes between Irenaeus and Eusebius is reserved for subsequent treatment. The present instalment opens with important discussions of the chronologies given in the writings of Eusebius, together with statements on the oldest lists of Bishops, the Post-Eusebian Oriental lists, the chronologies of the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and relative matters. These extend over nearly 230 pages, and make the First Book.

The Second Book is occupied entirely with the literature itself. It is given in two divisions. Of these the first contains the writings which may be dated with reasonable certainty within comparatively narrow limits. The second deals with the writings which cannot be dated with the same measure of certainty. In the former are placed First Clement, Pliny's Letter, Hermas, the Apologists, the writings of the times of Basilides, Marcion, Celsus and others, on to the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius. In the latter we find Barnabas, the Didaché, Second Clement, the five writings bearing Peter's name, Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, James, the *Acts* of Paul, John, Andrew, Thomas, Peter, certain writings attributed to Justin, Melito, and a number of others; while finally, and in a list by themselves, we have the various Gospels, canonical and uncanonical. Chronological Tables, and statements of assured dates in the lists of Bishops, are added.

It is an extensive territory that we are thus taken over. Each successive investigation is followed out with the thoroughness

which characterises Professor Harnack's work. All is executed in a way at once patient, searching, and systematic. It is obviously but little that can be done within our present limits, either to characterise a volume of this compass or to examine the results which it asks us to accept. It is out of the question to attempt more than a general statement of its contents and a general estimate of its significance. There is much in it of which only the specialist could speak worthily. Many opinions are given which would require lengthened examination. Many arguments are developed, on the sources, the Patristic writings, the Gnostic influence, and much else, that would call for particular consideration. But these must be passed by. The interest of the volume centres in what it has to say of the New Testament books. It is natural to turn first to the important sections in which these pass under review. The conclusions deliberately formed and declared by a scholar of Professor Harnack's experience and theological leanings on questions of such moment as the historical credibility, date, and integrity of our Gospels and Epistles, deserve the closest attention. The pronouncements made by him on our canonical books are in many ways remarkable and of unusual significance. Special mention must be made of these. But there are also some things of general interest, and some things preliminary to these New Testament questions, which may be referred to, however briefly.

It is instructive to notice at the outset the esteem in which the ancient authorities on whom we have to depend for so much, are held by Professor Harnack. Eusebius, for instance, receives all the honour that is due to a careful and trustworthy historian. He is regarded as having had a high ideal before him, and as having done his work in something better than a narrow, prejudiced, ecclesiastical spirit. It is pointed out, among other things, that while he follows the succession of emperors in his chronology, and arranges his matter accordingly, he refrains for the most part from any attempt to give the exact chronological relations of the things he reports within the several reigns. And Professor Harnack speaks of it as being to the credit of Eusebius that he "abstains from giving more exact dates than he was really in a position to give." Irenaeus, too, is treated with great respect. Although some liberties are taken here and there with this Father's testimony, Professor Harnack recognises its worth and speaks of the "great work" of Irenaeus. The First Epistle of Clement is treated with like honour. And the same is the case with the Ignatian Letters, which are now taken to have been composed "in the last years of Trajan (110-117), or perhaps a few years later (117-125)." In Clement, Ignatius, and Irenaeus, we have in short a succession of authorities sufficient, according to Professor Harnack, to give us the "key to

the understanding of the inner history of the Church" for the periods 30-110, 110-180, 180-251 A.D.

This being so, Professor Harnack's reading of the case of primitive Christianity is all on the side of the general reliability of the traditional view. It is something to see that in this he agrees with our own representative English scholars, pre-eminently Lightfoot and Hort, and it is pleasing to notice the ungrudging praise he gives them. Of Lightfoot in especial he speaks in the highest terms, making much of his investigations and claiming for him that he has settled once for all a "whole series of the most important points," particularly as regards the early Roman Bishops.

So he frankly recognises the fact that "in the criticism of the sources of primitive Christianity we are, without doubt, embarked on a retrograde movement towards tradition." He expects that the familiar problems which have been long under discussion in the regions of primitive Christian doctrine and early Church history will soon assume new aspects and be looked at in new ways. He believes that the time is near at hand when the literary questions relating to primitive Christianity will lose their interest, and attention will be transferred to the historical problems. And he tells us why he entertains such beliefs and expectations. It is because, in his opinion, assent will be given to the "general accuracy of tradition," and because the "chronological framework in which the early Christian literature has come down to us," may be accepted as generally reliable. "The chronological framework," he says, "in which tradition has arranged the documents from the Pauline Epistles down to Irenaeus is in all main points right, and compels the historian to disregard all hypotheses in reference to the historical sequence of things which deny this framework."

These are significant utterances. They are made the more pointed and the more suggestive by what is said on the subject of the amount of pseudonymous literature and interpolations. The extent to which either the one or the other has to be conceded is reduced to little. The only writing now within the New Testament Canon that in Professor Harnack's view can be called "in the strictest sense, pseudonymous," is Second Peter. And on to the time of Irenaeus the whole number of such compositions is "small and soon counted," when the "fabrications of the Gnostics" are put aside. And as to interpolation, the practice certainly prevailed in the second century, but very few writings are allowed to be affected by it, while "some of the interpolations are as harmless as the interpolations in our hymn-books and catechisms."

The criticism, therefore, to which all this points, and which Professor Harnack anticipates as the criticism of the future,

is something widely different from that of the old Tübingen School. Baur himself is spoken of with respect, and what he did is admitted to have had its value in various directions. But his favourite positions are set aside, and his method is discredited as one that started with certain assumptions regarding the existence and work of certain operative elements in primitive Christianity and the early Church, and made the writings conform to these. The whole style of criticism, moreover, that has derived more or less from Baur, that is ruled by the idea of "tendency" and loses itself in details, that cannot see the wood for the trees, and takes refuge in the supposition of large interpolation, receives here a stroke that should be fatal. It has had its day, according to Professor Harnock, and has failed.

Coming, however, more immediately to the New Testament writings themselves, and the place to be claimed for them, we notice the view which Professor Harnack takes of the chronology of Paul's life, and, consequently, of the dating of Paul's Epistles. On the cardinal question of the time to be assigned to the recall of Felix and the arrival of Festus, he stands for Eusebius's early date—the second year of Nero, between October 55 and October 56. He goes, therefore, with Blass, O. Holtzmann, and others, as against Wieseler's arguments for a later date, and Lightfoot's preference for 60 A.D. He places Paul's conversion, therefore, about 30 A.D. Paul's martyrdom he puts at July 64, when the persecution opened that followed the burning of Rome. He supposes that the Apostle might arrive in Rome in the spring of 57 and be set free in 59. And he thinks there is time enough between the latter date and the year 64 for Paul to have visited both the East and the far West. It may be so. But two things naturally suggest themselves here. Is it so likely, especially in view of the progress of things as given in the Book of Acts, that Paul became a Christian so very soon after our Lord's death? And why should Eusebius, who is otherwise so trusted, be abandoned in the matter of the date of Paul's death? For he places it in 67 (68). Professor Harnack thinks a confusion has crept into Eusebius's statement here. He explains it as due to the fact that two early reports, of which only one deserved acceptance, were followed. These were the tradition that the Apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the Ascension, and the tradition that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years. These periods added to the date given for Paul's birth (30 A.D.) take us to 67 A.D., the time when Paul suffered martyrdom according to Eusebius. But the historian is supposed to be wrong in the use which he makes of the latter tradition. Professor Harnack's explanation is ingenious. But the doubt remains.

With this scheme of dates, therefore, for Paul's life, Professor Harnack refers the Pauline Epistles to periods earlier by four or five years than are usually given even by conservative critics. He places Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, before 54 (53); Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (with a qualification), and Philippians, between 57 (56) and 59 (58); and the Pastoral Epistles (again with a reserve) between 59 (58) and July 64. More particularly, and with allowance for a year or two, 1 and 2 Thessalonians may be assigned in this scheme to 48-49 A.D., 1 and 2 Corinthians to 53, Galatians to a date between 50 and 53. Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians are thought, on the whole, to have been composed in Rome, although it is admitted to be possible that they were written in Caesarea. In the latter case they must of course be dated earlier. All the epistles which stand in Paul's name in our Canon are accepted, though under conditions and explanations in the case of some. Seven of the thirteen are received without doubt; three are received with some reserve; three with larger qualification. The Epistle to the Colossians is regarded as establishing its claim to genuineness more and more. The uncertainty attaching to Ephesians is reduced greatly. The Pastoral Epistles, as we now have them, are placed in the period between 90 and 110 A.D., and some parts (*e.g.*, 1 Tim. vi. 17-21) may be a good deal later. These Epistles have suffered considerable interpolation, but they have a real Pauline nucleus.

These are notable conclusions. They mark a great return to the traditional account. The principles which have led Professor Harnack so far with so many of these epistles might well seem capable of leading him farther than he has yet gone in the case of the Pastorals.

With respect to the other New Testament writings, no decisive judgment is given on the Epistle to the Hebrews, either as to date or as to authorship. Tertullian may be right in ascribing it to Barnabas. It may have been addressed to Christians in Rome. As First Clement uses it, it must have been written before 95 A.D., possibly even thirty years before that. But on these questions Professor Harnack will not speak with confidence. First Peter is supposed not to be by Peter, but to be the work of some unknown person of note in the Church, and to belong to somewhere between 83 and 93 A.D., possibly even to 73 A.D. Here again a different conclusion might be not unreasonably looked for from Professor Harnack's method. Second Peter is held to be undoubtedly a forgery, assignable perhaps to an early date in the second half of the second century. Jude is referred to some time between 100 and 130 A.D. The Epistle of James seems not to have been known in the Jewish-Christian Churches, and consequently cannot be the



work of the head of the Church of Jerusalem. All that can be said of it is that it may have been composed about the third or the fourth decade of the second century by some person of note whom we are not yet in a position to identify. The Apocalypse is assigned to the late date, 93-96 A.D. As to the Gospels, Mark's is the oldest, belonging to between 65 and 70 A.D. Matthew's comes next, the substance at least of it belonging probably to between 70 and 75. Luke's Gospel and the Book of Acts are placed about 78-93. On the debated question of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Professor Harnack, while dissenting from some of Zahn's positions, thinks that that scholar has succeeded in proving that Gospel to have been an independent work.

On the all-important question of the Fourth Gospel, he holds that it cannot have been written earlier than 80 A.D., or later than 110. The Johannine Gospel and Epistles are referred, however, to the Presbyter John, not to the Apostle. This is one of the most doubtful parts of Professor Harnack's book. It is his wont to attach importance to the statements of Irenaeus. Here he departs from his usual attitude. He attempts to dispose of the fact that Irenaeus believed the Fourth Gospel to have been the Apostle's work, and of the considerations which go to show that this was the belief of the Church of Asia Minor at the end of the second century. He makes little, also, of the finer indications which render it at least not improbable that Apollinaris (about 170 A.D.), and even Justin Martyr (155-160 A.D.), were of the same persuasion. He has to show it to be probable that by the last quarter of the second century the Church of Asia Minor had confused the Presbyter with the Apostle. We cannot say that he has succeeded in this. Neither has he done more than others before him to give substance to this shadowy figure. It will be felt, we believe, that he has not sufficiently considered aspects of the case as regards Irenaeus to which attention is called by Professor Gwatkin and other English scholars; nor has he given due regard to such reasonings as those which are followed out by Resch in his treatment of the Gospels. But it is right to say that he speaks with some modesty and reserve, and further, that he qualifies his statement by admitting that these writings, if they came from the hand of the Presbyter John, show clear traces of the influence of the Apostle John.

In these discussions of the problem of the Fourth Gospel, Professor Harnack is not so sure of his ground as he generally is. Neither is he, perhaps, quite consistent. In other parts of his book, as in those dealing with the Catholic Epistles, it will also be felt that his procedure is at times somewhat arbitrary and his judgments not sufficiently balanced. He seems now and again

to yield to some of the temptations to which schools of criticism, which are pronounced by him to be out of date, have been open. He is not free from a habit which has misled many in the region of Old Testament criticism—the habit of assuming that the date at which an idea or an institution first appears in the literature of a people is also the date at which it first appears in actual fact in their history. He still makes too much both of the Hellenic influence on the doctrine and organisation of the primitive Church, and of the influence of the Gnostic movement on the shaping of the New Testament Canon. But the book is likely to make an epoch in New Testament studies. It is full of brilliant thought and capable investigation.

It might be supposed that Professor Harnack's conclusions as to the early dates to which so many of the New Testament books must be referred, would seriously affect his views of the construction of Christian doctrine, the rise of Christian institutions, and the appearance of certain beliefs and narratives in the Canonical books. But it is not so. There is nothing to indicate any change in these views. He thinks that there is still room enough within the narrower limits to which he now commits himself for a large development. He does not admit that sixty or seventy years are needed for the formation of the historical deposit which is contained in the Synoptic Gospels. He thinks thirty or forty years sufficient. He does not admit that so long a period as seventy or eighty years after Paul are required for the rise of a phenomenon like the Fourth Gospel. He holds thirty or forty years again to be enough. So he does not regard the period between the Apostolic Convention and the close of the first century as too small to admit of a rapid and extensive development of doctrine and institution. And he is of opinion that he is borne out in this contention by the analogy of the changes which took place in such a period as that from 1517 to 1567, or even that between 1517 and 1530. This touches the most serious questions of the near future. What we get here is only an indication of Professor Harnack's mind on these subjects. No doubt he will have more to say of them by and by. We shall look with interest for a completer statement.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

**Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays.**

*By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1897. 8vo, pp. viii. 308. Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

IN three respects these essays of Professor Andrew Seth's mark the immense change which has come over philosophical studies in the English speaking lands. There has been a broadening of the conception of philosophy; there has been a wide reaction towards Idealism, almost as influential where Idealism is not the ultimate creed as where it is; and this Idealist reaction has ceased to be merely imitative of German systems, and has taken on a terminology and a dialectic of its own. All these facts receive emphasis from Professor Seth's new book. A student trained thirty years ago in what our Universities then called Philosophy, and who had read little philosophy since, might well be puzzled on reading these pages. Opinions he had been accustomed to condemn unheard, he would find presented with the most solemn conviction. Names which had been the synonyms for all that was fortuitous and unpractical, he would find cited with reverence. He would seem to have awakened in a revolutionised world, understanding of which demanded the learning of a new language and familiarisation with new ideas. Hence, however, the charm of this book to the philosophical student; it is so modern and up to date. It is a good guide, especially for the hard-worked man, to recent philosophical literature. Fugitive as these essays might at first sight appear, they are written by a man who knows, and who has lived through the philosophical movements of recent years, absorbing much, rejecting much, criticising all with a singular candour and an enviable subtilty. Psychology is not what it was a quarter of a century ago; under Wundt's initiation it has developed a new method, and has become much more conscious of its specific task; and these essays clearly, but with judgment, mark the advance. Logic, thanks mainly to Hegel, has entered upon a careful criticism of first principles, and in these pages the profounder views plainly appear. Metaphysics (and especially Epistemology) having ceased to be an incentive to ridicule, has shown itself to be of supreme importance, not to be ignored if we think deeply; without Metaphysics, as is understood to-day, there is no certainty in physical science; without Metaphysics, it is beginning to be understood, there is no solid basis in theology; even practical life is seen to be based upon a metaphysics of some sort, consciously

or unconsciously held, more or less correct in its postulates; and these irrepressible metaphysical problems, which Agnosticism has almost unintentionally compelled the modern thinker to face, find due, even affectionate, recognition here. Behind these lectures there lies an acute and patient thinker, who has assimilated the best in the great German systems of philosophy, the semi-Idealism of Kant, the subjective Idealism of Fichte, the objective Idealism of Schelling, the absolute Idealism of Hegel, the Realism of Herbart and Lotze, who has kept his head well above water in the swellings of that flood of thought associated with the names of the Cairds in Scotland, of T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, and William Wallace in England, and of Josiah Royce, W. T. Harris, Elisha Mulford, and T. S. Kedney in America, and who has known how to assimilate the best in recent movements in Dualism from Martineau to Laurie. It seems to me to be the most useful feature of this book that it is so admirably and yet so critically in touch with the best in recent philosophy. Students of philosophy owe a debt to Professor Seth for his *Development from Kant to Hegel*, and for his two series of Balfour Lectures. But the hard-worked professional man, who is still interested in philosophical questions, will very probably thank Professor Seth most for his more popular, less technical, and not less scholarlike, *Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays*.

The papers of which this volume is composed were written, the author tells us, within the last six years, and are together a criticism of some of the more significant contributions to philosophy which have appeared during that period. The first paper, "Man's Place in the Cosmos" (which gives the title to the volume), is a reprint of an article in *Blackwood* upon the late Professor Huxley's remarkable Romanes Lecture. The second paper, altogether admirable in tone and contents, on "The Present Position of the Philosophical Sciences," is a reprint of Professor Seth's inaugural lecture as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. The third paper, on "The New Psychology and Automatism," was an address to the Edinburgh University Philosophical Society, and has only been partly printed before, in the *Contemporary*. The other two papers, which have also appeared in the *Contemporary*, are reviews of Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, and of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. As a note to the last, a short paper on "The Use of the Word Naturalism," which formerly appeared in *The Philosophical Review*, is reprinted. All these essays were certainly deserving of a more permanent form, distinctly being, as claimed, seasonable criticism of some of the more significant contributions to recent philosophy. One could have wished that a paper had been included upon Hobhouse's

*Theory of Knowledge*, thus completing the more original philosophical work of recent years in English.

Professor Huxley's Romanes Lecture on "Evolution and Ethics" deservedly attracted a large amount of attention on its appearance for its tone, for its impressiveness, for its breadth of treatment, and, as the mature utterance of an evolutionist, for its novelty. But, as Professor Seth says, the subject as a whole was perhaps dismissed from public attention before its significance had been exhausted, or indeed properly grasped. Professor Huxley's protest against the naturalisation of ethics should certainly not be forgotten, and his deliberate opinion that "cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about, but in itself it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before." This important opinion is certainly a milestone on the journey of the student of ethics. Now, Professor Seth first shows how timely the utterance was, instancing in proof the attitude towards ethical questions of Renan and Mr Thomas Hardy and others in current literature, and then considers carefully the consistency of Professor Huxley's argument and the ultimate tenability of his position. By that argument and that position Professor Seth stands, having shown, however, that some expressions of Huxley's were unguarded and open to an easy reply on the part of the evolutionists in ethics. This essay is certainly well worth reading.

In the inaugural lecture on "The Present Position of the Philosophical Sciences," it is pointed out that the discipline of the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh is of a threefold character—logical, psychological, and metaphysical (or philosophical in the strict sense.) It is also pointed out that these three lines of philosophical training are cognate, the first two being in a measure introductory or propædæutic to the third. Logic gives a training almost purely abstract or formal, comparable in some respects with the mental discipline of mathematics—a training in clearness of thinking, in accuracy of definition, in appreciation of what is meant by demonstration or proof. Psychology brings us face to face with a concrete subject matter—the actual facts of mental life. Philosophy carries us into a more difficult region, for here we deal, not with any particular department of fact, but with the ultimate principles of knowledge, and the ultimate constitution or meaning of the cosmos as such, including the prior question whether we are justified in speaking of a cosmos at all. The three departments having thus been demarcated, the present outlook in each of the three departments is rapidly but admirably described, with a notable aphorism here and there, as



when it is said "the horror of the true-blue experientialist for what he calls 'metaphysics' was amply repaid by the tone of condescension and indifference which the idealists adopted towards 'empirical psychology,'" and with an occasional humorous touch, as when Comte's Law of the Three States is described as representing metaphysics to be a sort of disease of childhood, *like measles*, which the race was in the act of outgrowing. Upon two principles, it is said, a true philosophy should lay stress at the present time. On the one hand, it should present a *teleological* view of the universe. On the other, it should be *anthropocentric* (ethical, that is to say).

In "The New Psychology and Automatism" the doctrine of human automatism, so clearly and forcibly put forth by Dr Münsterberg as one of his contributions to experimental psychology, is minutely considered. "The will is only a complex of sensations," says Münsterberg; what Seth says should be patiently read and weighed. His final words are, "If we were to recast Descartes' formula, in the light of all that has come and gone in philosophy since his day, not *cogito ergo sum*, but *ago ergo sum* is the form his maxim would take."

Mr Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* Professor Seth regards as the most important metaphysical work which has appeared in England since the publication of Green's *Introduction to Hume* in 1874. He thinks so, not because its conclusions are likely to become assured possessions of philosophical thought, but because of the intrepidity of the treatment and the singularly stimulating quality which belongs to all that Mr Bradley writes. Mr Bradley has always insisted on calling his soul his own. His volume is no easy reproduction of another man's thoughts. In the sweat of his brow its author has conceived and executed it. "I have a high opinion," said Mr Bradley in his preface, "of the metaphysical powers of the English mind," and his notable book is addressed to thinkers as such. Amongst critiques of Bradley I know nothing equal to this essay of Professor Seth's.

The final essay is entitled "Mr Balfour and his Critics," and is an examination of the philosophical importance of Mr Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*. For there is some danger, Mr Seth says, that the importance of Mr Balfour's book may be obscured by the very circumstances which gave it for a time extraordinary prominence. Yet *The Foundations of Faith* appeals to deeper interests than those of newspaper reviewers, and to a more permanent audience than the volatile general public. Therefore Professor Seth reconsiders Mr Balfour's book at some length, and what he says deserves careful study, although on some points he does seem to me to defend the indefensible in Mr Balfour.

Upon the general tone of all these essays a word should be said.

At bottom, as Professor Seth justly claims, they all treat of the same theme, namely, man's relation to the forces of nature and to the absolute ground of things. Therefore "Man's Place in the Cosmos" is a fair title for the whole series of essays as well as for the first. The main concern of every essay is to enforce the same view of the world and of man. That view is anti-naturalistic. It is therefore ethical. Inexplicable as man's personal agency is—nay, the one perpetual miracle—it is nevertheless, says our author, our surest datum and our only clue to the mystery of existence. The statement strikes me as too broad, but man's personality is assuredly a very important element in all philosophical inquiry; and the emphasis laid upon the fact and implication of personality makes this book at once timely and forcible. If I could not say, with Professor Seth, that "man, as rational, and in virtue of self-conscious reason, the free shaper of his own destiny, furnishes us with our only indefeasible standard of value, and our clearest light as to the nature of the divine," I can yet most gratefully acknowledge the able insistence in this volume upon the philosophical value of the ethical in man. But in my view, as a philosophical as well as a theological inquirer, the religious life of man is not identical with the ethical life, nor can it be explained solely by the ethical life. The Philosophy of Religion is to me more than the Philosophy of Activity. And only in the philosophy of religion, with its intuitions from another life than the human, do I find my clearest light as to the nature of the divine, my indefeasible standard of highest value.

ALFRED CAVE.

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**Die Altisraelitische Ueberlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung. Ein Einspruch gegen die Aufstellungen der modernen Pentateuchkritik.**

*Von Dr Fritz Hommel o. ö. Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität zu München. München: Hermann Lukaschik, G. Franz'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1897. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. i-xvi. 1-356. Price, M.5.75.*

**The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, as illustrated by the Monuments; a Protest against the Modern School of Old Testament Criticism.**

*By Dr Fritz Hommel, &c. London: S.P.C.K., 1897. 8vo, pp. i-xix. 1-356. Price, 2s. 6d.*

THIS book is professedly of an apologetic character, but it cannot be classed with the numerous apologetic works on the Old Testa-

ment which have appeared during the last few years. The defence of ecclesiastical traditions, which is the main business of the ordinary apologist, occupies but a small portion of Professor Hommel's treatise; by far the greater part of it is devoted to the exposition of certain novel theories respecting the history of antiquity in general, and of ancient religions in particular. These theories are so varied, and deal with such a mass of minute details, that it is very difficult to summarise them; but they may be briefly described, in the language of the newspapers, as "important if true." Of their truth the author himself has no doubt whatever; indeed, if the robustness of a man's convictions were always an accurate measure of the strength of his case, Professor Hommel might be reckoned among the greatest discoverers that the world has ever seen. Unfortunately in scientific researches sincerity, though a most valuable quality, is not everything, and it may be feared that, owing to his lack of other requisites, Professor Hommel will fail not only to convince genuine scholars but even to win the gratitude of conservative theologians.

It should be noted, first of all, that vehemently as Professor Hommel denounces Biblical critics in general, he has no hesitation in endorsing some of their most important conclusions. Thus, for instance, he denies that the Pentateuch, taken as a whole, is the work of Moses, and he accepts, in the main, the ordinary critical analysis, according to which the Pentateuch is a compilation derived from four principal sources (pp. 8-10, 12, 18-20). On this subject Professor Hommel expressly disagrees with Professor Sayce, who has lately informed us that if Moses did not write the Pentateuch, it would be "something like a miracle" (*Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1895). Professor Hommel thinks, it is true, that in many individual passages the critical analysis is very doubtful, owing chiefly to changes introduced by the compiler or by later copyists; but here he does not differ from the critics—though his language might sometimes lead his readers to infer that such was the case—since the same admission has repeatedly been made by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Driver, and, in fact, every prominent representative of the critical school. It is on historical, not on literary, questions that the divergence between Professor Hommel and the critics is most marked. He believes, for example, in the historical reality of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though it may be noticed, in passing, that he nowhere tells us clearly whether, in his view, the patriarchal narratives are trustworthy throughout, or whether they contain facts mingled with fiction. He likewise defends the antiquity of the so-called Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes. If this were all, there would be no cause for astonishment. But what especially distinguishes Professor Hommel is a passion for dogmatising about subjects which, from their very nature, are extremely obscure, such as the origin

of races, languages, and forms of civilisation. Thus he would have us believe that the Assyrians were of Arabian descent, that Abraham himself was an Arab, that the Israelites spoke an Arabic dialect down to the time of Joshua, that the religion of the Arabs in pre-historic ages was an exalted monotheism. To this last point Professor Hommel attaches great importance, but he does not seem to perceive the results which necessarily follow. If his theory were accepted, the religious significance of the Old Testament would be seriously diminished. The religion of Israel would cease to be a unique phenomenon in ancient history, as other writers, including critics like Wellhausen, invariably regard it; the faith of the Prophets would be a mere survival of an Arabian cult, the origin of which is utterly unknown. We can, therefore, hardly suppose that the theory will become popular among conservative theologians; they will be inclined to consider Professor Hommel, in spite of all his protestations, as an *ami compromettant*. In his attempt to strengthen the edifice of traditional theology he has really undermined it.

But if Professor Hommel's conclusions are often strange, the methods by which he arrives at them are stranger still. It is no injustice to say that he has hardly any notion of what is meant by a proof; when he wishes to establish a theory, he treats any evidence, however slight and however ambiguous, as absolutely decisive. A characteristic example may be cited from the very first chapter (p. 11). He there undertakes to "prove" that the prophet Hosea was acquainted with the book of Deuteronomy, and produces the following demonstration. In Deut. xxviii. 68 occur the words, "The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships"; in Hosea we read, "They shall return to Egypt" (chap. viii. 13), and "Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean food in Assyria" (chap. ix. 3). Therefore, according to Professor Hommel, the prophet "evidently had Deut. xxviii. 68 in his mind." But why, we may ask, is it more rational to conclude that Hosea copied from Deuteronomy than to conclude that the author of Deuteronomy copied from Hosea? Professor Hommel is ready with an answer—the allusion to Assyria in Hos. ix. 3 agrees with the circumstances of the prophet's time, and accordingly the mention of Egypt must be derived from an older source. But the fact that the mention of Assyria in Hos. ix. 3 is appropriate does not necessarily prove that the mention of Egypt is inappropriate. Professor Hommel seems to have forgotten that Hosea, like some other Prophets, repeatedly mentions Egypt and Assyria together (Hos. vii. 11, xi. 5, 11, xii. 1[2]). Are we to suppose that in all these passages Hosea is quoting some older book? If not, why should we assume it, as "evident," in the case of Hos. viii. 13,

ix. 3? Driver has remarked (*Introduction to the Lit. of the O. T.*, p. 292) that "nothing is more difficult (except under specially favourable circumstances) than from a mere comparison of parallel passages to determine on which side the priority lies," and the truth of this observation must be admitted by all sober-minded critics.

Professor Hommel's propensity to build arguments upon utterly insufficient data becomes all the more dangerous when he discusses inscriptions and the like, because it is here much harder for ordinary readers to test his statements. The greater part of his book deals with ages of which we have no *continuous* history, ages known to us only from scattered notices, many of them fragmentary, which are often separated from one another, in point of time, by intervals of several generations or several centuries. According to the general opinion of Assyriologists, the cuneiform inscriptions range over a period of more than 3000 years, that is to say, a period longer than the whole of European history, from the dawn of Greek civilisation to the present day. But the great majority of the cuneiform inscriptions hitherto deciphered are later than the year 1000 B.C. Of the earlier ages we know comparatively little, and that little is frequently derived from *copies* made under the later Assyrian kings. Whether these copies are quite trustworthy may sometimes be open to doubt. Under such conditions the lively imagination of Professor Hommel has free scope; the vast distance of time, the extreme meagreness of the evidence, instead of inspiring him with distrust, appear to exhilarate him. He does not realise that, though inscriptions may often throw great light on a period of which we already have a general knowledge, there is no hope of recovering, even in outline, the history of a long period from the evidence of inscriptions alone. For, in the first place, some of the most important events may happen not to be mentioned in any extant inscription. In the second place, we cannot, with any confidence, deduce historical arguments from an inscription unless we know something of the general conditions under which it was written. The names of countries and nations, of political and religious institutions, are liable to change their application in the course of time, and accordingly the same phrase may signify utterly different things in the inscriptions of different periods, or even of different districts. The impossibility of writing history by guesswork, as Professor Hommel is perpetually attempting to do, will be apparent if we consider what has happened in Western Asia during the last 1500 years. Within that time, countries and populations have changed their names; some nations have changed their religion while retaining their old language, others have changed their language while retaining their old religion. But how many of these great transformations would be known to us if we were



dependent upon inscriptions only? Arabia, for example, is particularly rich in inscriptions, yet it may be doubted whether there is in Arabia a single inscription which would give us any definite information as to the origin of the Mohammedan religion, if all Mohammedan literature had perished.

Of Professor Hommel's treatment of the inscriptions a few specimens must suffice. He has, of course, much to say about the so-called Tell-El-Amarna tablets, which, as every one knows, are a collection of dispatches sent to the Egyptian government from Palestine and other countries about 1400 B.C. From the fact that these documents are in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform character, Professor Hommel concludes with certainty that Syria and Palestine must, at some earlier period, have been conquered by the Babylonians (p. 33). But what right have we to draw this inference? The choice of a particular language for official purposes may be determined by many and various causes. In Egypt, for instance, the Aramaic language was largely used for official purposes in the days of the Achaemenian Empire, as is proved by the Aramaic papyri and inscriptions of that period. Yet it would be quite a mistake to suppose that Egypt had been previously conquered by some Aramaean potentate. Similarly, in the last century, the French language was habitually spoken and written at the courts of many European countries which had never been politically subject to France; while the modern Persian language was extensively employed at the court of the Indian Moguls, and is still written in some parts of Central Asia which have never been conquered by the Persians. Hence it must be evident that to assume a Babylonian conquest of Canaan, for the mere purpose of supporting a theory, is contrary to the principles of historical science.

Professor Hommel's disquisition on Gen. xiv. is another fairy palace of conjecture, built upon the slenderest foundation. Like several of his predecessors he endeavours to prove from the inscriptions the truth of the narrative in Gen. xiv., and identifies Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal with certain kings whose names appear in Babylonian documents. Whether all four names have been correctly deciphered is at least doubtful; thus the name which Professor Hommel reads as *Iri-Aku* (= Arioch) should, according to Winckler, be pronounced *Rim-Sin*, and Jensen calls the form with *Aku* "a pseudonym invented by Assyriologists." This, however, is a matter which cannot here be discussed; we may assume, for the sake of argument, that Professor Hommel's readings are quite correct. But another difficulty arises. If the statements of the inscriptions are to be trusted, the king whom Professor Hommel identifies with Amraphel must have lived about 2300 B.C., whereas Amraphel is represented in Genesis as a contemporary of

Abraham, whose date Professor Hommel places about 1900 B.C. How does Professor Hommel surmount this obstacle? By the very simple process of striking out, as "entirely apocryphal" (p. 126), a whole dynasty of kings whose names are mentioned in the inscriptions! But even this liberty, astounding as it is, does not suffice for Professor Hommel's purpose. Nowhere in the inscriptions is it stated that a single one of the four kings in question ever invaded Palestine, and consequently not a single one of the events described in Gen. xiv. is shown to be historical. According to Professor Hommel, however, the correspondence of the names is enough to prove that the narrative in Gen. xiv. is "genuine and ancient tradition" (p. 192). But how did this "genuine tradition," about persons who lived some five hundred years before the time of Moses, find its way into the book of Genesis? Professor Hommel suggests that it was preserved in the library of the pre-Israelite kings of Salem and afterwards transferred, in a Hebrew translation, to the library of the Judæan Temple. The notion that a Jew, during the Exile, can have borrowed the names from some Babylonian record Professor Hommel rejects with scorn. Yet it is not easy to see why the latter theory should be pronounced more absurd than the former. If the names are contained in Babylonian documents extant at the present day they were presumably to be found in Babylonian documents extant at the period of the Exile, whereas we have no proof whatever that they were to be found in the library of the kings of Salem. But, as a matter of fact, even if we suppose Gen. xiv. to have been written during the Exile, it is quite unnecessary to assume that the author borrowed the names from a Babylonian library. Everyone must know that in the East fragments of historical tradition may be transmitted, from age to age, and from nation to nation, in a great variety of ways; and it is particularly important to observe that historical romances are much more likely to be transmitted than genuine historical narratives. The names of Solomon and Alexander the Great, for example, have been popular in the East for many centuries, yet almost all that Orientals relate of them is derived from romances in which a few scraps of historical truth are overlaid with masses of fiction. The Koran, in particular, contains a large number of names borrowed from Israelite history, but of the history itself Mohammed was notoriously so ignorant that he represents Haman as a minister of Pharaoh. These examples, and many others that might be cited, show that the occurrence of historical names in a narrative is no guarantee whatever of historical truth.

But Professor Hommel's disregard of critical precautions is most to be deplored when he treats of his favourite subject—the pre-historic Arabs and their religion. The evidence on which he here

relies is derived mainly from *proper names*, mentioned either in Babylonian or in native Arabian (Sabaeen and Minaean) inscriptions. Unfortunately both classes of names present serious difficulties. So far as the names taken from Babylonian documents are concerned, it must be remembered that the ambiguity of the cuneiform writing, in which several of the Semitic consonants are either not represented at all or not distinguished from one another, often renders it impossible to say, with any confidence, what was the true pronunciation. But even when the pronunciation is certain, how are we to decide which of these names are really Arabic? Professor Hommel falls into the very serious error of assuming that any name which *admits of an explanation* from the Arabic, but not from the Hebrew or Aramaic, must necessarily be an Arabic name. He forgets that at the very remote period with which he is dealing (2000 B.C. or earlier) the distinctive features and the geographical distribution of the various Semitic languages may have been quite different from anything which we are able to imagine. Semitic languages may then have been spoken of which we know nothing. Words and forms which we are accustomed to regard as characteristically Arabic may then have existed in no Semitic language, or may have been common to all Semites. Even with regard to a much later period, our linguistic information is extremely imperfect; whether, for instance, the language of the Midianites, the Edomites, or the Amalekites, in the time of David, was more nearly akin to Hebrew or to Arabic is a matter of pure conjecture. Recent discoveries have repeatedly shown the danger of dogmatising on these questions. Thus, for example, we are now aware that a certain reflexive verbal form, which scholars once considered peculiar to Arabic, was used by the Moabites in the ninth century B.C. If this were all that we knew of the Moabite language we might conclude that it was a dialect of Arabic, but the inscription of King Mesha' proves that in general it closely resembled Biblical Hebrew. Again, the Zinjirli inscriptions have shown that, about the same period, there existed in the extreme north of Syria a dialect which combined certain features hitherto supposed to be specifically Hebrew with other features hitherto supposed to be specifically Aramaic. Hence it is quite possible that many of the names which Professor Hommel confidently puts down as "Arabic" are in reality derived from some other language. Names taken from Sabaeen and Minaean inscriptions are, of course, open to less doubt as regards their form and Arabian origin. But, unhappily, almost all these inscriptions are of *unknown date*. Professor Hommel assumes throughout (in opposition to D. H. Müller, Mordtmann, and other eminent authorities) the correctness of his theory about the immense antiquity of the Minaean inscriptions, although that

theory received a rude shock, a few years ago, in consequence of the discovery of a Minaean inscription dated from the reign of "Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy" (see the papers by D. H. Müller in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, viii. [1894], pp. 1-10, 161-166). An ounce of fact is proverbially worth more than a ton of theory, and the fact that we possess a single Minaean inscription dated from the Ptolemaic period is of more importance than all the speculations in the world about the age of the undated Minaean inscriptions.

Thus it will be readily understood that, out of the vast number of proper names cited by Professor Hommel, there are very few of which both the form and the date can be considered certain. But let us give him the benefit of every doubt, and assume, for the moment, that the forms and the dates are all correctly stated. What has he then succeeded in proving? Merely this, that certain forms of proper names, which occur in the Pentateuch, were used in Babylonia and Arabia at a very early period. But this does not even raise a presumption in favour of the antiquity of the Pentateuch, unless it can also be proved that the forms in question were no longer used in later times. Here Professor Hommel unfortunately displays an almost total lack of criticism. He cites a number of proper names as *proofs* of the extreme antiquity of the Pentateuch, regardless of the fact that names of the same, or of a similar, type are common in inscriptions admitted on all hands to be quite late. Thus, for instance, he urges that names compounded with *El* (God) are frequent both in the Pentateuch and in early Arabian inscriptions (pp. 299-302). But he forgets to state that such names were also in use among the heathen nations bordering on Palestine long after the Return of the Jews from the Exile. The above-mentioned Minaean inscription, of the Ptolemaic period, is the epitaph of a certain זִידֵאל (*Zaid-El*), who provided myrrh and spices to be used in the temples of the "gods of Egypt." In 1 Macc. xi. 17 we read of an Arabian chief named *Zabdiel*, and in the inscriptions of the heathen Nabataeans, written about the time of Christ, we find a profusion of these names—עֲלִיָאֵל, וְהַבְּאֵל, רַבְּאֵל, מְקִימָאֵל, חֲנָאֵל, נִטְרָאֵל and others. It should be noted that the names עֲלִיָאֵל and וְהַבְּאֵל are common to the Minaean and to the Nabataean inscriptions (see D. H. Müller's *Epigraphische Denkmäler*, 1889, pp. 26, 38). The Nabataean חֲנָאֵל corresponds to the name חֲנִיָאֵל in Numb. xxxiv. 23. From all this it is clear that, even if the Minaean inscriptions be really as ancient as Professor Hommel imagines, names compounded with *El* are by no means *restricted* to very early times, and the occurrence of such names in the Pentateuch consequently proves nothing in favour of the antiquity of the book. But Professor Hommel is no less rash when he infers from

names of this kind that the pre-historic Arabs were monotheists. He might as well infer that the Greeks were originally monotheists because they used such names as Θεόδοτος, Θεόπομπος, Τιμόθεος, etc. Among the Greeks, as among the Arabs and Aramaeans, names formed with a word for "God" alternate with other names in which some special deity is mentioned, Θεόδωρος, for instance, with Διόδωρος, Ἀπολλόδωρος and Ἀρτεμίδωρος. What right, therefore, has Professor Hommel to say (p. 87), in speaking of the religious significance of the early Arabian names, that "no parallel can be found for it in the nomenclature of any ancient people"? It may be true that the *proportion* of names in which some special deity figured was smaller among the ancient Arabs than among the Greeks. But this does not imply that the Arabs were originally monotheists. In small and relatively isolated communities, like those of ancient Arabia, the local or tribal god would naturally occupy a more important place, and hence be more frequently designated as "the god" or "our god," than among a people like the Greeks, who at an early period, in consequence of their political development, attained to the notion of a Pantheon, or organised commonwealth of gods. But to confound the cult of a local god with monotheism is a mistake, as Robertson Smith has so ably pointed out (*Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. p. 39).

If only Professor Hommel had devoted more attention to the names used in later times, he would have realised how dangerous it is to base historical arguments upon proper names, unless we are accurately informed as to the circumstances of the period. Among the later Jews, for instance, Greek and even Latin names were by no means rare; in the list of Maccabaeian sovereigns we find Aristobulus, Alexander and Alexandra. Some centuries afterwards, in consequence of the spread of Christianity, Hebrew names became very common among the Syrians and other nations who were neither Hebrews by race nor Jews by religion. Certain names (*e.g.*, *Ishō'yabh*, "Jesus has given," *Bokhtishō*, "Jesus has delivered") were, of course, confined to Christians; but these are exceptions, and in general it may be said that names used by Christians were also used either by Jews or by heathens. Even Christian bishops sometimes bore names of a distinctly heathen type (*e.g.* Demetrius, Diodorus). At the beginning of the sixth century there was a bishop of Tellā called *Barhadad*, *i.e.*, "Son of (the god) Hadad"; several bishops, including one of the popes of Rome, were called *Hormisdas*, after the name of the supreme deity of the ancient Persians, *Ahuramazda* or *Hormizd*. Can it be doubted that if we derived our knowledge of that period chiefly or solely from proper names, we should be liable to draw the most absurd conclusions as to the religious condition of the world?



From all that has been said it will be perceived that Professor Hommel's work is essentially speculative; instead of bringing the theories of modern Biblical critics to the test of facts, he offers us a new set of theories. Thus the controversy as to the origin of the Pentateuch remains precisely where it was before. For it is manifest that until Professor Hommel's opinions about Arabian monotheism, and a score of other subjects, are definitely proved to be true, they cannot be used for the purpose of proving or disproving anything else.

A. A. BEVAN.

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### **The Ethics of John Stuart Mill.**

*Edited by Charles Douglas, M.A., D.Sc. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, p. 234. 6s. net.*

WE already owe to Dr Douglas a competent and appreciative study of the philosophy of J. S. Mill. He has conferred on the student of philosophy the additional boon of a serviceable edition of the ethical writings of this influential writer. Only those who have striven to obtain a full and clear view of the ethical view of Mill, and have been compelled to search his voluminous writings with that purpose, can appreciate the service done to them by Dr Douglas. He has patiently and lovingly searched the writings of Mill, has gathered together every ethical utterance of his, placed every fragment in its appropriate setting, and has combined them into an organic unity, so that the student may rest satisfied that he has within easy reach all the ethical teaching of Mill, at least as far as it is contained in his published writings.

It is not needful to say much on the ethical teaching of Mill, nor to describe his exact historical position, or the changes he made on the utilitarian view. This has been well done by Dr Douglas in the introductory essays. On these essays we may say a few words. They are three in number. *Ethics and Induction*, *Ethics and Psychology*, and *Ethics and Morality* are the titles of these essays, and they form a fitting introduction to the study of ethics, such an introduction as the student needs on beginning the study of ethics. The sphere of ethics is well defined, and its relation to the process of induction set forth clearly. The relation of ethics to psychology is set forth with masterly precision. On this point we make the following quotation: "This necessity for an interpretation of experience different from mere analysis of them into their simplest elements, or description of the manner in which they come into existence, is not confined to those experiences in which we learn the nature of physical objects. If these stand in need of explanation

which is not afforded by the most complete account of the elements that compose them, it is not less necessary to seek such explanation of the experience which form the ground of moral judgment ; for the conduct and character which are judged to be morally good or bad do not exist in isolation from the world of things and persons ; in every change which they undergo, and every quality which they exhibit, they are inseparable from the order of nature and society ; and no account of them can be complete which deliberately regards them in an artificial abstraction from the world by which their nature is determined. But the moral quality of actions is specially dependent on this relation which they bear to a whole or system of which no complete account is given in the mere analysis of mental state. In the first place, actions are right and wrong only in their relation to the unity of mental life ; it is their membership in a system of which self-consciousness is the determining principle that gives them their moral quality. In the second place, the moral quality of self-conscious actions depends on the relation of the individual agent to a system wider than his individual life. Regarded merely as states or changes of the individual, actions have no moral character ; they are morally good or bad only because the individual belongs to a community, and his acts are thus connected with an order beyond the changes of his private life." Mill had attempted to derive ethics from psychology, and his editor has been constrained to show that the attempt was a failure. The foregoing quotation is part of the argument by which this is made good. The contention of Mill is clearly and sympathetically shown, and its inadequacy pointed out. The next question is the relation between the theory of morality and the moral consciousness itself, as this was apprehended by Mill. What then is morality ? To this Dr Douglas answers : "Morality is the system of beliefs in accordance with which actions are judged to be right or wrong ; and the morality of an act is its relation to the judgments which make up the system, or to the principle which those judgments express." What is the principle which determines moral judgment ? This is really the problem of Mill. He investigates the moral judgment in order to discover the principle by which it is determined. In a passage of singular beauty Dr Douglas sets forth the Hedonistic problem as Mill received it from his predecessors, describes the transformation it received at his hands, inquires into the validity of that addition, and shows that the addition made by Mill to the Utilitarian view was of such a kind as to necessitate the reconstruction of his ethical scheme from the foundation. The statement may be given in the words of Dr Douglas : "Mill was led to define virtue, not simply by its tendency to produce certain consequences, but also as a quality of

personal life. But he did not consider how far removed such ideas were from the presuppositions on which he continued to base his ethical theory. That every man desires his own pleasure, and nothing else, is no ground for believing that every man ought to produce the greatest possible amount of happiness for others; and virtue, when it is defined as conduct which is influenced by sympathy and by interest in society to the production of a common good, has no direct connection with a character which is conceived to be limited in its interests and motives to the sphere of private pains and pleasures. Mill modified his conception of human character and conduct; but he never learned to think of them in a way which was really consistent with his own ethical position. His conception of virtue is one which cannot be made intelligible except by supposing that human character and the human interests are organic to a personal consciousness capable of recognising itself as related to other persons, and thus becoming a member of a community. His actual theory of human motives—that they are all incidental to desires for pleasant feeling—implies the widely different view that personal life is merely a series of impressions, and the individual consciousness is without any bond of relation to the real world or to other persons."

JAMES IVERACH.

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### **A Study of the Psychology of Kant with reference to the Critical Philosophy.**

*By Edward Franklin Buchner, Ph.D., Professor of Descriptive Psychology in New York University, Instructor in Pedagogy and Philosophy in Yale University. Lancaster, Pa.: The New Era Print. 8vo, pp. 208. Price, \$1.25.*

If we may take it upon ourselves to give advice to Dr Buchner, we would humbly counsel him to study simplicity. We have toiled at his book, believing it worth our while, and we have not toiled in vain, for we have obtained some fresh insight into the meaning of the mighty Kant. We grudge, however, the hindrances put into our way; and the needless obscurity of his meaning which the writer somewhat gratuitously indulges in to the consternation of the reader we utterly deplore. Our time has been wasted by the need of reading an inflated rhetorical style and the necessity of guessing at the meaning of words which we have not met outside of the pages before us. On the first page the following sentence gave us pause:—"The discommoding dust and the beautiful crystal, the blooming plant and the psycholating cell are phantas-

magoria coming from nature's adjustments of elemental atoms in their infinite valencies." To be introduced for the first time to a "psycholating cell" was a great event, but it was nothing to the feeling of wonder which arose within our heart when we found ourselves actually shaking hands with a phantasmagorium. As we continued to read we came across other words and sentences fearfully and wonderfully made, and words whose acquaintance we had not made before. We suppose it is Dr Buchner's way, and we must submit. Still we may say that it is not a good way. He might have learned something, as to simplicity, lucidity, and exactness, from Harris, Bowne and James, American writers in philosophy, who have been able to express the deepest things and thoughts in the most lucid language. By what right does Dr Buchner place a clumsy, barbarous and rhetorical style between us and his critical exposition of Kant? No man who has anything to say to his fellowmen has a right to say it after this fashion.

When we get accustomed to his style of setting forth his thoughts, we find that he has something to say. He has set forth the psychological problem of Kant with great care; we see it as it was handed on to Kant from the workers in philosophy of former times; how Kant set it anew, grappled with it in his own fashion, and gave it that form which has prevailed till the present hour. A chapter deals with the value and difficulties of Kant's psychology, with the sources of it, with the relations of psychology to metaphysics, to logic, to ethics, and to æsthetics. Then a chapter is given to a description of Kant's conception of psychology and the form of the critical philosophy. It is a closely-reasoned argument, in which further difficulties in Kant's psychology are pointed out, and many things are discussed with relation to the place and sphere of psychology, the gist of which will be seen from the following quotation:—"It is to be gathered from the preceding mention of the relation of the faculties that psychology is concerned with the tracing out the mechanism of what may be called knowledge in its most liberal meaning. It dare not estimate the value of the various elements, for then it becomes ethical; nor can it pronounce upon the ultimate facts and their inherent worth, for then it becomes philosophical. Processes only are the goal of psychological inquiry. The impulsive queries which go beyond these must find satisfaction in the answers rendered by philosophy. So close do they lie, they are difficult to separate. One begins where the other ends. Thus knowledge and its manifold implications are to be submitted to the eye of reason; and the breaking up into problems depends not on the faculties which have contributed to that knowledge, but on the

way in which that knowledge may be broken up. There first emerges that broad distinction which Kant recognised and is fundamental, viz., between that which is and that which ought to be. The former falls within knowledge in its more limited sphere, and breaks up into dirempted products of consciousness, affording the subject knowing and the object known. The latter provokes inquiry into the nature of the objective object and subjective object, the 'me' and 'not me.' The second broad distinction finds unique implications in manifold ways which philosophical analysis must bring to light."

The discussion moves on to the consideration of empirical psychology and the contents of the critical philosophy. It is partly expository and partly critical of Kant's position. It deals with form and content; describes Kant's idealism; states his view of sense-perception; gives in some detail Kant's views on sensation, perception, imagination, memory, understanding and reason. In this chapter the author has settled down to business, and rhetoric has been largely discarded; and we have from him a lucid account of Kant's views on the topics indicated above. He follows with patience and intelligence the argumentation of the master, not slavishly, but with the knowledge of what has been learned since he wrote. From sense to reason, through all the intermediate grades, the author leads us, until we are brought face to face with the ultimate questions of psychology. What are the ways in which our experiences fuse into knowledge? Our author tells us, these modes of fusion are the categories which have been so famous in the history of philosophy. To tell us what they are is the task of metaphysics; to tell us why we use them is the business of the theory of knowledge; but the way and manner of using them, and the how of their application throughout experience, this is part of the work of psychology.

What warrant have we that these modes of fusing our knowledge are such as give us certainty that we are in contact with reality? "We make affirmations or negations, positing them as true for all time and absolutely true in the experience of every rational being. What are the grounds on which rest these features of our knowledge? or, what is the evidence that our knowledge is dealing with reality?" For the answers to these questions we must refer to the book itself; but we must give a helpful quotation: "So far as the scepticism of criticism rests on the elimination of the effective factors in the cognitive consciousness, it remains without psychological warrant. All intellection is suffused with the element of belief. Judgments proceed with the conviction that they are dealing with something real. In its speculative aspects criticism unpsychologically considers mere intellection.



Though there is yet dispute among writers whether belief is intellectual or affective, there is no doubt about the conviction of reality being an accompaniment of rational processes. This is just the nature of belief, that thought is having reference beyond itself to a real object. Even in its most speculative flights knowledge is always coming back to the starting-point of all intellectual activity—namely, the lowly, broad basis of sense-experience. Thus Psychology's answer to the question of certainty is the feeling of belief or conviction of reality that attaches itself to and develops with the intellective consciousness. There is no real thing for us men until we can bring it within a consciousness glowing with the feeling that it is real. Here also is one of the most obvious relations that obtain between two of the so-called faculties, and a fact which makes intelligible this necessity of ours that we must have come up through a long development before we posit the realities of common or cultured experience. The feeling elements must intertwine all cognition and be the supporter and conservator of all that is gained in knowledge. The Kantian psychology cannot remain justified in the antithesis between faith, opinion and knowledge, and the scepticism which flourished on that stalk cannot be philosophically removed by inquiry into the realm of ethical faith."

The final chapter deals with the position of rational psychology in the critical philosophy. The discussion is able and competent. Beginning with the relation of rational psychology to the critical system, it proceeds to an analysis of the four paralogisms, inquires into the source of the rational psychology which Kant criticised, and gives us a criticism of Kant's criticism, which is one of the most valuable things in the volume. There are also criticisms of other doctrines of Kant which are of value. There is no doubt that this is an able book, and to the careful and patient student will yield a rich reward. But the student will need patience, for the thought of the writer does not make itself manifest on a first reading, and even a second reading sometimes leaves the meaning somewhat obscure. Why should we be compelled to submit a book to a process of distillation?

JAMES IVERACH.

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**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.**

*Das Buch Hiob von Karl Budde. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. lvi. 256. Price, M.6; bound, M.7.50.*

PROFESSOR BUDDE'S new work on Job may be regarded as the final result of studies on the Book which have extended over twenty years. In his *Beiträge* (1876) he subjected the Elihu section to a thorough investigation on its linguistic side, and came to the conclusion that, so far as the language is concerned, the Elihu speeches may well be from the pen of the writer of the other parts of the Book. In *Stade's Journal*, vol. ii., he examined the line of thought in ch. xxvii., xxviii., and the examination led him to believe that these two chapters are original and reveal an essential stage in the progress of Job's mind under his afflictions. In these two results Budde diverged from the views held by some of the best known writers on the Book. It is interesting to find that further studies have only confirmed him in his former conclusions. No doubt he admits, with perfect candour, that the language of Elihu has a different complexion from much of the rest of the Book, but he maintains that this difference is not peculiar to the Elihu speeches, but belongs to other parts, particularly to the whole second half of the Book, with the exception of a few chapters (xxix., xxxi., xxxviii., xxxix.), and his theory is that the second half of the Book, including the Elihu speeches, did not receive the author's final elaboration, with the exception of the chapters mentioned, which were already completed and ready for insertion. This theory makes the author's manner of composition attractively modern; but we doubt very much if scholars in general will concede to Budde that the *kind* of peculiarities characteristic of Elihu is to be found in any other part of the Book.

The interest of readers of this important work will be mostly concentrated on the author's view of the purpose and general idea of the Book of Job, and on the extremely acute and able criticism to which he subjects divergent views; but there are certain subsidiary questions on which it is well to hear the mind of a scholar of Budde's distinction. One of these is Hebrew metre. There is such a thing as Hebrew poetry, though much difference of opinion prevails regarding it. To the ordinary reader of the poetry, as the Massoretic text exhibits it, the most that appears is a certain tendency in the lines to approximate in length. But this tendency does not seem to be the primary principle of the poetry, which is rather the parallelism of thought, and in this Assyrian and perhaps Egyptian poetry agrees with the Hebrew. But it was

quite natural that the parallelism of thought should tend to clothe itself in a rhythmical parallelism of expression. Still, this rhythmical parallelism, not being the real principle of the poetry, but only, so to speak, the secondary effect of it, was not rigidly sought and is certainly not to be found in Hebrew poetry as the Bible exhibits it. It is only, therefore, when consecutive lines differ very widely in length that the text becomes critically suspicious, though of course the possibility always remains that the divergence in length was purposely introduced by the poet for the sake of literary effect (Job xiv. 4). Several schools of metricists, however, exist which maintain that the poetical lines are of the same length, though one school (*e.g.*, Bickell) considers sameness to consist in equal number of syllables, and another in equal number of main accentual beats, that is virtually, seeing every independent word carries a main accent, in equal number of words. Metricists are, of course, entitled to their theories or their fads as one may please to call them. It is when they apply their theory as an instrument of textual criticism that they awaken interest. The procedure of Bickell, who inserts or omits syllables or words on no authority and for no reason except to secure sameness in the number of syllables in the consecutive lines, shows how powerful—and how arbitrary—an instrument of criticism a metrical theory is. In a notice of Duhm's *Isaiah* in this *Review* some years ago, an attempt was made to show that textual changes reached in this way, being based on no principle capable of proof, were wholly illegitimate. Since then two important pronouncements have been made on the subject, one by Wellhausen and now one by Budde in his present work. In his edition of the Psalter, in Haupt's Bible, Wellhausen divides the text into *stichi*. The principle on which the division is made is certainly not clear, but at any rate the division is not according to any metrical theory, but in the teeth of every theory. While Wellhausen silently ignores theories, Budde expresses himself plainly in regard to them. And if any man has a right to speak on the subject it is he; for the only thing to be called certain in Hebrew poetry, the Lament measure, is due to his discovery. Though speaking mainly of the metres in Job, he maintains (1) that the consecutive lines need not be of the same length, in whatever way sameness be estimated; (2) that the verse need not consist of only two *stichi*, it may have, and the Poet often of purpose gives it, three; and (3) that the strophes, assuming that there is such a thing, need not consist of an equal number of verses. Bickell's emendations, made in order to secure an equal number of syllables in the lines and strophes of four lines each, are subjected to a good-natured and amusing fire of sarcasm all through Budde's book.

Another point of interest is Budde's proceeding in textual criti-

cism. In this he is very moderate. Of course he rightly uses criticism of the text, for nobody supposes the massoretic text immaculate, and nobody denies the legitimacy of the same means of amending it as are employed in the New Testament, such as the testimony of the versions. The only version of importance is the LXX, which in this case is quite peculiar, omitting nearly a fifth of the Book. In opposition to Hatch, and in agreement with Dillmann, Budde denies that the *plus* of the Hebrew was introduced after the LXX translation was made. Hatch's view is wholly improbable. Budde enumerates several peculiarities of the Greek translator which go a great way towards accounting for his much briefer text. Even, therefore, when Budde in omitting a passage is supported by the LXX, he is not inclined to lean much on the support. The LXX translator may have had the passage before him, and omitted it for some of his own bad reasons, though, of course, to put a possible case, he may have omitted it for the same good reasons as Budde. The author's emendations look felicitous in some cases; few of them (and few of those proposed by others) have any important bearing on the general sense of the Book, and it is the meaning of the Book in the religious history of Israel that is of interest. It is naturally in the Elihu section, the worst preserved part of the Book, that the author finds most to amend. His emendations here would need to be scrutinised with great closeness. His omissions have the effect certainly of diminishing the offence or mannerism of Elihu, and so far of diminishing the difficulty of accepting the Elihu section as an original part of the Book, which he maintains it to be. The arguments by which the omission of several passages is supported do not appear quite conclusive; and some of the passages omitted seem to show that, whether they be interpolations or not, their author read the surrounding context in a different sense from Budde. So far as literary criticism is concerned, the author is also very conservative. The prologue and epilogue are in his view essential parts of the Book, which would be unintelligible, and can never have existed, without them, though they may well have existed as a folk-tale prior to the Book. The Elihu speeches are original, and indeed contain the solution of the problem. The chief interpolations which he finds are xxiv. 18-21, and xli. 4-26 (A.V. 12-34). This conservatism on the part of the author of the *Urgeschichte* and the *Bücher Richter u. Samuel* is very interesting.

The part of the author's Introduction, where he develops his idea of the scope of Job and criticises other views, is tough reading, and we may not always have caught his meaning. If we have failed to set his views in the right light, the failure is unintentional. Scholars have always found it difficult to perceive the unity of the Book of Job and discover a ruling idea under which all parts of it could be

brought. This difficulty has led writers on the Book to consider parts of it unauthentic, some discarding the Prologue or Epilogue or both, and others the divine speeches or some other portion. Budde has the same difficulty as his predecessors, but he surmounts it in a different way. Instead of rejecting the Prologue because its view of the meaning of Job's sufferings is irreconcilable with the view given in the rest of the Book, he maintains that the author of the Book consciously dissented and departed from the idea of Job's afflictions given in the Prologue and substituted another idea for it.

Budde's view is something like this : First, the Prologue and Epilogue is an ancient story or folk-tale which the author of Job found already existing in writing and used, and between the parts of which he inserted his own work. The story is much older than his own day, for Ezek. xiv. 14, 20 alludes to it, while the author of Job wrote about 400 B.C. In this original folk-tale the question raised was, Is there a disinterested, unselfish religion? It was a wager or bet between God and the Satan. Hence Job's sufferings were a trial of his righteousness, to his own growth in grace and to the glory of God. The assumption of the story was that Job was a perfectly righteous man; there cannot, therefore, have been in the original story anything corresponding to Job's blasphemous outbreaks; the position begun with must have been maintained: *In all this Job sinned not.* Possibly the story contained a final scene between God and the Satan, in which the latter acknowledged his defeat and retired in humiliation. Secondly, this explanation of Job's sufferings did not satisfy the author of the Book of Job—if it had satisfied him there was no reason why he should have interfered with the original folk-tale. He therefore introduces various persons discussing the question of Job's sufferings, who, being contemporaries of Job, are, of course, ignorant of the scenes in heaven described in the Prologue. The author retained the Prologue partly for popular purposes, but mainly because it gave him the starting-point and problem to which he wished to give his own solution, viz., a (hitherto) righteous man falling into grievous affliction. The three friends give their solution, which is practically a denial of the problem: either there is no such thing as a righteous man, or the righteous man will not be afflicted: Job must have been guilty of sins to account for his afflictions. This is not the solution of the author of the book. On the contrary, he maintains three positions—First, against the friends, that a man hitherto righteous (in deeds) may be afflicted—Job was so before the visit of the friends; secondly, against the average reader, that Job sinned after the visit of the friends; and, thirdly, against Job, that God was righteous in afflicting Job. It is, of course, in demonstrating the third point that the author of Job reveals his



explanation of Job's afflictions. This he does in the speeches of Elihu. His explanation is in a sense that of the friends—there is no such thing as human righteousness; only in estimating righteousness he does not operate with man's past acts, but with his mind. Human righteousness is never so pure or transparent but that it casts a shadow, and its shadow is what Elihu calls "pride." And the purpose of God, who tries the heart, in afflicting Job was to reach and eradicate this root of bitterness, and how bitter it was the blasphemous hardihood of Job's speeches shows. God's purpose of afflicting Job was formed before His encounter with the Satan, as appears from the fact that *He* introduced the subject of Job, saying—Hast thou observed my servant Job, a man perfect and upright? If the Satan had answered—Yes, I know him, he is a perfect man, God would immediately have said—Go and take from him all that he has! The speeches of Elihu reveal to us, as they did to Job, the cause of Job's afflictions, and justify the ways of God to man.—This is virtually Hengstenberg's theory, though very probably Budde has never read his essay on Job. It appears to us to be an attempt to get behind the conception of the author of Job, and to use his stage and *mise en scène* for playing another drama than the one which he puts upon the boards.

Professor Budde's brilliant advocacy of his theory, and his trenchant criticism of opposing theories, must be read in his own pages. Only a few disjointed remarks can be made here. First, it is an essential part of Budde's theory that the Job folk-tale was found by the author of Job in writing. This, of course, can never be proved. Ezekiel certainly knew a story about Job just as he knew a story about Daniel, but there is no more evidence that there was a written story about Job than there is that there was a written story of Daniel. The present Book of Daniel can have almost no resemblance to the story of Daniel current in Ezekiel's day, and there is no evidence that the present Book of Job has any close resemblance to the original Job story. The present Prologue is probably an almost original composition. It is also part of Budde's theory that the author of Job dissented from the view of the written story. Neither can this be considered likely. Why, if he found the written story and dissented from it, did he encumber himself with it? It would have been enough to refer to a righteous man called Job who fell into great afflictions. On Budde's own showing the author of Job involved himself in great difficulties by his procedure. Budde argues that the Prologue had so much the stamp of the popular mind upon it that it could not be got rid of, particularly the wager or bet between God and the Satan. We suspect that to most minds the Satan episode will

seem a difficulty in the way of Budde's theory. Is it probable that a doctrine of Satan so developed, exhibiting a personality so distinct and a character so pronounced as is implied in a bet between him and God, should have existed anterior to the time of Ezekiel? Budde himself feels this difficulty, and suggests that in the original tale the term "the spirit" may have been used as in 1 Kings xxii. But with an indefinite "spirit" the idea of a wager between him and God would be quite unnatural. On the theory of an ancient written story one would be tempted to hold that the Satan episode formed no part of it. And the idea that the author of Job dissented from the popular tale while retaining it as his Prologue is so improbable that one would rather accept the view of Kuenen, viz., that the Prologue, the Satan episode, and the scenes in heaven, were not intended to give any *explanation* of Job's sufferings, but merely to describe how they came about. The non-appearance of the Satan in the Epilogue gives countenance to this theory. The Satan in that case would be a mere symbol as in 1 Kings xxii., with no proper personality, and the scenes in heaven mere dramatic embellishment without moral meaning.

Another thing on which we feel bemuddled is the question of Job's "righteousness." Budde speaks of Job's "immaculate" righteousness, of his "pride" in it, and how his pride led him into unrighteousness. His idea of the Job of the Prologue is that he was a man absolutely blameless in life, but (as afterward appeared) wrong in heart, his wrongness of heart being just the reflection of his blamelessness in life. Some will think this a contradiction, but, supposing the character possible, is it a creation to be looked for in the Old Testament? And is the word "pride" anywhere used of what we call spiritual pride? So far as Job is concerned he certainly never pretended to be a sinless, only in truth a God-fearing, man, with a life conformable to his fear of God. And we cannot see that the Prologue when it calls and makes God call him "a perfect and upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil," means in the least to describe him as absolutely "immaculate." The righteousness which Job claimed against the three friends was that he had never been guilty of such sins as they insinuated against him and eventually openly charged him with. And it is the same righteousness which he claims against God, because he can explain his afflictions in no other way but on the supposition that God is imputing to him the same kind of sins as the friends did. Job is perfectly right in maintaining his righteousness both against the friends and against God, righteousness being what he understands by it. And if he is righteous it inevitably follows—his idea of the connection between sin and suffering being assumed to be

correct—that God is unrighteous. And the Poet is perfectly true to Job's character and conceptions in making him adhere to his charge of unrighteousness against God to the very end. The source of Job's perplexity and charges against God was just his fixed idea that his afflictions implied that God imputed to him such sins as the friends did—this being his idea of the relation of affliction to sin—and his conscience acquitted him of such things. What was needed was that this fixed idea should be dissipated and wider possibilities of the cause of his afflictions suggested to his mind. And this was done by the divine speeches, in which, if there is no actual explanation of his sufferings, there is not a word about any sin, but the whole tendency of which is to widen his view of God and providence. The divine speaker does not even charge him with impiety in his speeches, only with what might be called intellectual presumption. The gist of these addresses to Job is, as Budde says, *What dost thou know? What canst thou do?* We do not quite make out what meaning Budde attaches to Job's controversy with the friends and his victory over them. He remarks by way of minimising its importance that after disposing of the friends Job is as "eager for the fray" with God as he was before with the friends. Of course he is. He felt that God and the friends were making the same charges against him, the latter in words and the former by His afflictive acts. His real controversy is with God, as he often says, the friends he regards as mere special pleaders for God. Of course the controversy as to the facts of providence is subordinate, though necessary. But the purpose of the Book is not to disprove the doctrine of retributive righteousness, to show that a proportion between sin and suffering is not true, but to ask, *Why in the name of God is it not true?* The question of the Book is not the righteousness of Job, but the righteousness of God. It is the question whether religion be not a delusion. And was it unnatural that the author of Job should suggest two solutions of the anxious question, a general one, based on a wide consideration of the relation of the creature to the Creator, as in the divine speeches; and a particular one, viz., that sufferings may be a trial of righteousness, as in the Prologue—supposing this to be the meaning of the Prologue. We cannot help thinking that the view that it is God alone who composes Job's mind, and does so without any explanation of his sufferings, is infinitely loftier, truer to poetry and to religion, than the view that a human speaker like Elihu produces such an effect. To us now the question of God's rule may be overcome or silenced. It continues to have its interest as a question anxiously debated at one stage of Israel's religious history. But the position taken and held by Job suggests things of perennial

religious meaning, viz., that there is such a thing as being a God-fearing man, and that one who is so may be conscious of it, and that this consciousness is strong enough to maintain itself against all external evidence which men or the course of providence (for which Job can only say "God") can bring against it; and, finally, that in the contents of this consciousness there is an affirmation not only about man but about God, for when Job says, "Even now my witness is on high," and "I know that my Redeemer liveth," he says that religion is reciprocal, that man's having God is God's giving Himself to man. It is such things as these, and there are many of them in the Book, that make Budde's theory of Job's character distasteful, and, as we think, untrue.

Professor Budde emphasises very strongly the impious hardihood of Job's speeches, and finds in it a powerful argument for his theory of the Book. Of course "Job" is the author of Job. The writer of the Book expresses himself mainly in Job's speeches. In what sense does he do so? Is it with seriousness and sympathy? Or does he cause Job to go so far as he does just to suggest by the excess his own reprobation and awaken that of others? Budde appears to answer, For both purposes. The author had, or at one time had had, a "Job" in him, and this explains the power with which "the Job" is delineated and his sentiments expressed; but when he wrote he had overcome the Job and the Elihu had been formed in him. In other words, the author made Job go to the extremes he did in order to reveal the "sin" in him, and show it to be exceeding sinful. The divine afflictions were fomentations applied to Job's original sore to ripen it and make it ready for the knife. This makes a complicated character of Job—a man intensely in moral earnest, intensely wrong morally, and intensely ignorant of himself. Whether this be an interesting or an odious character, we venture to think it is as unlike the character of Job given in the Book as anything can be. If Job was not a righteous, but only a self-righteous, man, his outcries and protestations are worse than profane, they are ludicrous. The book is not a tragedy but a comedy. Is there not a more natural explanation of Job's excesses? Was it not the author's intention in making Job go to the extremes he did to emphasise the profound moral perplexity and even agitation into which providence, as they observed it, threw men's minds in that age? The whole post-exile period is full of this problem. The author of Ps. lxxiii. acknowledges that his feet were well-nigh gone. Nothing could be more false than to say that Job renounced God. The positions which Job took up and maintained to the end, as Budde says, were these: God is unrighteous; God must be righteous. But the God whom he called unrighteous was the

mere creation of his logic, of his understanding of what "righteousness" was. The God who must be and was righteous was the necessary postulate of his mind, the God whom he knew, and who he knew knew him. As to Job's excesses, the question is not what we think of them, but what the author of Job thought of them, who was not yet a Christian. And his view of them appears from the divine speeches. The divine speaker makes no charge of impiety against Job, only of the presumption of a creature in judging the action of his Creator. Budde's view that the speeches of Elihu had already shown Job his errors is nothing but a hypothesis. There is not in all the Book one word of the influence of Elihu's speeches on Job or on any other creature. On the contrary, when the author of the Book makes Job say in reply to the divine speeches, "Now mine eye seeth Thee, wherefore I abhor myself," does he not expressly attribute the change in Job's mind to the divine speeches? Budde seems to think it a presumption in favour of his theory that it explains every instance of affliction. It does so in a very one-sided way. It does so by saying that the causes of affliction are to be found exclusively in the defects of the person afflicted. But who will venture to say this? That afflictions have always some bearing on the person afflicted may be true, but they may have a wider bearing, and who will think himself wise enough to say in any particular instance whether God's chief purpose lay in the wider or the narrower bearing?

In a passage extremely characteristic, though not quite easy to understand, Professor Budde seems to reveal to us the genesis of his theory. The natural and original sense of the written folk-tale which the author of Job found was that Job's afflictions were a trial of his righteousness. But there were some things in it which suggested to the author of Job (as they do to Dr Budde) that God's purpose in afflicting Job was not to try his righteousness, but to purify him from an unrighteousness lurking in his heart, what Elihu calls pride (and Hengstenberg Pelagianism). One thing was that God opened the subject of Job with the Satan: Hast thou observed my servant Job? This shows an *arrière pensée* in the divine mind, He has something against Job. If it be objected that this makes the Deity disingenuous when he speaks in the same breath of Job as "a perfect and upright man," Budde replies that the words are ironical—the irony being at the expense of Job's "righteousness" or the Satan's shallowness, or both. He saw into Job's heart, and He knew that the Satan did not see into it. Of course the Satan will take exception to the praise of Job, which he takes as seriously meant, but the exception will be only such a vulgar commonplace as the suggestion of selfishness. Job's malady was deeper than that. Budde's reasoning is here so exquisitely



subtle that it is like vandalism to touch it and ask where is the evidence for this divine irony? Certainly the Satan did not detect it, and had not the faintest suspicion that he was being humbugged. But it is enough to mention the point. It is not for us to attempt to decide a question of interpretation between the Satan and Dr Budde, we have too profound a respect for the acuteness of them both.

No scholar in this generation has done so much to elucidate the Elihu section as Dr Budde, whether in regard to its language or its meaning. Still, even accepting his expurgated edition of the text and even his interpretation, one feels great difficulty in accepting the Elihu speeches as an original part of the Book. (1) There is the fact that outside of the Elihu speeches Elihu is nowhere alluded to. And this is all the more inexplicable when the great rôle is assigned to Elihu of revealing to Job and to us the mystery of Job's afflictions. (2) Then there is the difficulty of the language. Let anyone read over Elihu's speeches, even as given by Dr Budde, and then pass immediately to the speeches out of the storm, and no argument will be needed to impress this difficulty. And (3) Elihu's arguments are as unlike the arguments in the other parts of the Book as his language is unlike theirs. However precious the things be which he presents to us, they are dug out of the bowels of the earth. The arguments of the other parts of the book are profound just because superficial; they reflect the open face which the life of man and the world presents to the eye. Elihu's arguments are the result of *Grübeln*; their atmosphere is that of the mine, instead of the free air of the fields and the desert.

Apart from Professor Budde's theory, which, no doubt, many will like, his work is a very important one. It is full of fine suggestions; it will compel those who have theories of Job to reconsider them, and it will take its place as one of the ablest contributions to the exposition of the Book which have been made.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

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### History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.

*By James Fred. McCurdy, University College, Toronto. Vol. II.  
London and New York: Macmillan, 1896. 14s. net.*

THE merits of this work were so fully acknowledged in a notice of the first volume that it is necessary to do little more than draw attention to the appearance of a second part. The author had hoped to comprise the whole in two volumes, but his materials have so grown that a third will be necessary to exhaust them and do justice to his conception. The present part, carrying the

history down to the fall of Nineveh (608-6), traverses ground more familiar than that covered by the first, though not less important, and with all our knowledge of it, hardly less obscure. The volume falls into two general parts, the first dealing with the internal history of Israel from the Exodus, and the second more with the external history during the Assyrian age. It is the first part to which those interested in biblical science will most eagerly turn in the hopes of seeing some fresh light shed on the problems of the religious history of Israel. Such questions as these are waiting for a final answer: What is the origin and meaning of the name Jehovah, and what is the explanation of His connection with Sinai? On what religious level were the people of the Exodus, and what attributes did they assign to Jehovah their God? Were they pretty much on the same level as the other Shemitic peoples about, and, though they gave a distinct name to their God, did they conceive of Him very much as those peoples conceived of their gods? In other words, how far was Jehovah already ethical? This question of How far? is that which divides modern investigators into two schools. What can be the meaning of the command, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me? The command is a unique one in the religious history of the nations. To say that it is a preliminary one in preparation for the greater affirmation, There is no other God, is not satisfactory. Either the command implied already at the Exodus the idea of such a uniqueness in Jehovah as to make Him virtually God alone, or else the command is not so old as the Exodus—it is not a starting point that led to theoretical monotheism in later times, it is the reflection in later times of a monotheism already reached. Then there are such questions as these: How did the tribes settle in Canaan, and what relation to the natives did they take up? How did the native religion affect that of Israel, and how must we conceive the religion of Israel to explain to ourselves how it was so affected? What was its colour and its stability? And again, How shall we explain that religious and civil disorganisation existing in the time of the prophets and denounced by them? Was it a new thing, a degeneration that had at last come to a head? Or had it always been there, and the new thing not it, but the prophetic judgment passed upon it? Supposing the latter alternative true, How shall we account for this moral and religious elevation of the prophetic mind? Is all that can be said this: Genius, whether religious or of other kinds, is always inexplicable; Personality transcends explanation.

Professor McCurdy gives an answer perhaps to most of these questions in his own way. His work is not controversial. He has not before his mind the questions in the forms in which modern

writers on Old Testament religion have put them ; or, if so, he disregards the forms. He follows a good deal traditional views, though, of course, setting things often in fresh light. The reader feels that he sometimes passes over difficulties rather lightly. At other times sections relating really to the same matter appear scattered throughout his pages. The discussion would have been clearer if the questions formulated by modern writers had formed points around which the materials were gathered. There is, of course, much valuable thought in these chapters. Particularly important are chapters iii., "The Hebrews as Nomads and Semi-Nomads," and vi., "Society, Morals, and Religion." The latter chapter is extremely instructive, and both in style and thought is the gem of the book.

The story of the collision of Israel and Judah with Assyria traverses ground more open and free from bush. Perhaps Dr McCurdy might have been more liberal in his citation of authorities. For example, he tells the story of Manasseh as it is given in Chronicles. Is there not some Assyrian confirmation of this story, or part of it? If there is, the reader would have been very glad to see it, considering how often the story has been treated by scholars as a fable. It is interesting that the author suggests 610 B.C. as the date of Nahum. But is it in harmony with the newest information on the subject when he speaks of the Medes and Chaldeans as besiegers of Nineveh? However important the operations elsewhere of the Chaldeans may have been was not the siege and capture of the city the work of the Medes alone?

The work is most correctly printed, scarcely an error being to be detected. We noticed Teile for Tiele in a footnote, and should not " words," p. 219. l. 22, be *wards*?

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### **The Incarnation : A Study of Phil. ii. 5 to 11.**

*By E. H. Gifford, D.D., formerly Archdeacon of London and Canon of St Paul's. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 161. Price, 3s. 6d.*

THIS volume consists of two articles on the interpretation of Phil. ii. 5 to 11, which appeared in the *Expositor* of September and October 1896. In the one of the two essays Dr Gifford deals, phrase by phrase, and in some instances even word by word, with the construction and meaning of the entire passage, by means of which he endeavours "to establish the true interpretation of St Paul's language, without attempting to discuss the various dogmatic theories which profess to be deduced from it, except in so far as

they are based upon representations of the Apostle's meaning, which I can only regard as mistaken or misleading." In the other, which might have been styled more happily "Historical Notes on Various Interpretations," he traces briefly "the origin and course of certain errors of interpretation which have been long and widely prevalent in foreign Protestant theology, and have recently begun to find favour in our own country."

We shall best give some idea of Dr Gifford's method and its results if we follow him more or less in detail through Part I., which is divided into eleven sections.

Roughly speaking his contentions amount to the following paraphrase of vv. 6 and 7:—"Who, being *originally* and *continually* subsisting in the *fullness of the Godhead*, counted it not a prize that He was on equality with God, *as to mode of existence*, but emptied Himself by taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man."

The *first* Section deals with the context, in which "the Incarnation and human life of our Lord are set before us as the perfect example of the principle enjoined in v. 4, 'Not looking each to his own things, but each also to the things of others.'" In Section II. the student is warned against arguing, with Meyer, that  $\delta\varsigma$  denotes "the subject of what follows; consequently Christ Jesus, but in the *prehuman state*, in which He the Son of God . . . was with God"; the *human state* being first introduced by the words in v. 7, "He emptied Himself."

Dr Gifford thinks it "safer and more strictly correct to say with Hofmann, in his Commentary on the Epistle, that 'the Apostle, speaking of Him who was known to His (sic) readers under the name of Christ Jesus, asserts something which He did in a state of existence described as *being in the form of God*.'" We have next two entire sections devoted to the word  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu$ , dealing with it as implying (a) *pre-existence* and (b) *continued existence*. With regard to (a) Dr Gifford regards the meaning given to  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu$  in the margin of the R.V. (Greek *being originally*) as so generally recognised among scholars that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it except to point out that this sense is strongly marked in several passages of St Paul's Epistles (1 Cor. xi. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 17, Gal. ii. 14). "This well established meaning of  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu$ ," he says, "at once excludes the many attempts which have been made to limit the description, *being in the form of God*, to the time of Christ's sojourn upon earth. . . . Against all such interpretations it is sufficient to reply, that the meaning of  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu$ , in its connection with the following context, clearly implies a state existing prior to the point of time at which our Lord took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men."

In Section III. we are told that the possibility of the meaning "continued existence" being contained in ὑπάρχων is a point which has been overlooked or misunderstood even by the best scholars and interpreters. Lightfoot, for example, in asking the question whether the expression ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων refers to the pre-incarnate or to the incarnate Christ, seems to imply that ὑπάρχων must refer *exclusively* to the one or to the other; whereas Dr Gifford argues that it *may apply to both*, and quotes in support: (1) Grammarians, Jelf and Green; (2) N. T. writers, St John and St Luke, and especially St Paul; and (3) Early Christian writers, the Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, and St Chrys. Comm. *ad. loc.* "From the omission to notice this meaning of continued existence in St Paul's use of ὑπάρχων it has been wrongly assumed," he thinks, "that the existence, *in the form of God*, must have ceased at the moment indicated by the verb ἐκένωσεν, and this assumption is one of several causes tending to the erroneous view that what Christ laid aside was μορφὴ Θεοῦ."

Dr Gifford (Section IV.) upholds Lightfoot's interpretation of μορφή as "*essential form*," in opposition to Meyer's statement that μορφὴ Θεοῦ is "not essentially different" from τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, and consequent implication that the condition expressed by the former phrase is "separable, and at the Incarnation actually separated from the essential and unchangeable nature of God." Arguing against Wiesinger, Hofmann, Bruce and Thomasius, the writer declares "that μορφή is inseparable from οὐσία and φύσις, which can have no actual existence (ἐνεργεία) without μορφή, but only a potential existence (δύναμις); that "μορφὴ Θεοῦ and τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ are (a) not equivalent, but in (b) their proper meanings are directly reversed," and that the latter phrase expresses rather "*the form of appearance*," whilst it is the former which expresses "*the internal nature*." In discussing this point, Dr Gifford brings forward some interesting instances, culled from Hooker and Bacon, to show that the word "*form*," in the sense in which he would use it, was familiar to the Translators of 1611.

Section V. brings us to the phrase, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ. Noting the R.V., which renders ἴσα Θεῷ *on an equality with God*, instead of *equal with God* (A.V.), the author remarks upon the immense importance of the change to the right interpretation of the passage. For whilst the latter would denote the same *equality of nature*, the former denotes only the same *equality in mode of existence*; and one mode of existence may be exchanged for another, though the essential nature (μορφή) is immutable.

At this point Dr Gifford convicts Meyer of two grammatical errors, not to mention the insertion of ἴσον (Acc.) for ἴσος (Nom.),



and concludes "Meyer applies ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων to the 'form of appearance,' and τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ to the 'internal nature' of Christ in His pre-existence. *This interpretation is wrong as to both expressions and actually inverts their meanings.*" (The italics are ours.)

The general conclusion aimed at is confirmed by the general structure of vv. 6, 7, and the balance of the two sets of contrasted clauses. "We thus get rid of the chief cause of error and confusion in the interpretation of the whole passage, namely, the notion that Christ emptied Himself of 'the form of God.' This view, though adopted by Meyer, Alford, and other interpreters, is so directly opposed to the meaning of the words ὑπάρχων, μορφή, ἴσα, Θεῷ, and also to the antithetical arrangement and logical connection of the several clauses, that I cannot refrain from expressing my firm conviction that it must in the end be regarded as utterly untenable by every competent Greek scholar, who will examine the arguments opposed to it carefully, and without dogmatic prejudice."

Less interestingly, perhaps, because the matter is of less immediate and obvious importance to the contention in hand, does Dr Gifford write upon the remaining clauses of the passage.

Section VI. deals with ἀλλὰ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, VII. with μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, in which our author crosses swords with Canon Gore over the latter's dictum, "St Paul does not use his terms with the exactness of a professional logician or scholastic" (Dissertations, pp. 88 ff.) Section VIII. deals with ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος; IX. with καὶ σχήματι ἐρέθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος; X. with ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν; and XI. with the Exaltation. The general conclusion is stated in the following words:—"The continuance in Christ of *the form of God* assures us that at least the moral attributes of the Godhead are faithfully represented in the one perfect image of the Father, His Incarnate Word. And thus His every act of tender compassion, of patient endurance, and of loving self-sacrifice, shines out in its perfect beauty as a revelation of God's own nature and of His gracious disposition towards us. If, on the other hand, *the form of God* is laid aside in *taking the form of a servant*, and the influence of the Divine nature thus suppressed, as in kenotic theories, the life of Christ on earth may still serve for our example, by showing what *man* may possibly attain when endued with the fulness of grace and power by the Holy Spirit; but by ceasing to be a direct revelation of the character of God, it loses the power 'to clothe eternal love with breathing life.'" Whether, in the foregoing argument, Dr Gifford does not lay too great a stress upon the fact that "*continued existence*" may be implied in ὑπάρχων, and whether, in many of the instances cited by him, as well as in Phil. ii. 5, the

idea of a *habitually repeated* action (Green, *Gram. of N.T. Dialect*, p. 10)—which, taken alone, would permit the doctrine of the Kenosis to its fullest extent—is absent, is perhaps still open to doubt. But if his contention that *μορφή* means “*essential form*” is allowed, the word *ὑπάρχων* necessarily assumes minor importance, whilst the phrase *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* as interpreted of the *mode of existence* gives a consistency to the essay which it will be hard to assail.

The second part of the book, which space prevents us from discussing, deals historically with the positions assumed by Marcion, Baur, Ambrosiaster, Erasmus, Luther, Dorner, Chemnitz, Daneau, Zanchi, Ottley, Pfeiderer, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, Harnack, Powell, and Godet. It will thus be seen that it is completely up to date.

Dr Gifford may not have said the last word upon Phil. ii. 5 to 11, but, at least, he has said what will be welcomed as the utterance of a ripe scholar and painstaking theologian.

F. B. AMBROSE WILLIAMS.

### Dogmatique Chrétienne.

*Par Jules Bovon, docteur en théologie, professeur à la Faculté de théologie d'Eglise évangélique libre du canton de Vaud. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Tome premier, pp 549. Price, 10 francs. Tome second, pp. 584. Price, 12 francs.*

THESE two volumes form the second instalment of a system of Christian Doctrine, the first part of which was a New Testament Theology, already reviewed in these pages.<sup>1</sup> Professor Bovon is a citizen of the Swiss Canton of Vaud. Protestant and Calvinistic, it took part fifty years ago in the movement against the Jesuits. To-day it is face to face with a small Catholic minority within its own borders, and, outside these, but within the limits of the Confederation, with Cantons which are predominantly Catholic. Dr Bovon is a member of the Free Church of Vaud, which, under the leadership of Vinet, and in the interest of the freedom and spirituality of the Church of Christ, seceded from the State Establishment. The whole population of the Canton is less than that of Edinburgh, and the number of citizens recognising the Free Church as their spiritual teacher does not exceed the number of inhabitants in Berwick-on-Tweed. With these facts in mind we know what to expect. Professor Bovon descends from Calvin through Vinet. The foundations are Calvin's, the temper and spirit are Vinet's—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III., 379, and Vol. V., 164.

Protestant, individualist, ethically strenuous, though with a leaning to a legitimate mysticism. The two moderns who figure most largely are Schleiermacher and Ritschl. Sometimes they are followed, more frequently they are refuted. But they are never out of mind. Behind all is the shadow of the Catholic Church, with its very different ideal. Thus the writer brings us into contact with the problems raised by the two most significant theological movements of recent times, the Neo-catholic and the Ritschlian. Dr Bovon is absolutely without rancour. There is no note of stridency in his pages, and yet he writes as one who is keenly interested. The style is lucid, and occasionally rises into eloquence. There is an evident mastery of the relevant French and German literature, and English theology is recognised to an extent rare among continental scholars. Far from being always convincing, the book is always suggestive, and throughout we recognise the expression of genuine personal conviction.

How does Dr Bovon think of Dogmatic, and on what does he rest it? The idea of an official Dogmatic imposed on the believer by a Church authority he regards as an anachronism. It is not thus that spiritual convictions are formed. But this does not mean that we can dispense with doctrine and rest satisfied with life. The Christian life manifests itself chiefly in feeling, in peace, joy, and love. But feeling is fugitive and incommunicable. Thought only can give it permanence and enable it to spread. Nor is merely symbolic language sufficient. For though there is much which can only be half guessed at, set before us by partially adequate images, there is very much which must pass into reasoned statement and formulated conviction. There are facts of history and life behind the Christian faith, and these can only be realised through doctrinal formulas of some sort. There must be no separation of thought and life. Christian faith without doctrine would cease to be. Doctrine, not rooted in life, not expressing its inmost conviction and motive power, not answering to its real needs, becomes altogether worthless.

This body of truth which Dogmatic has to formulate and systematise—where shall we find it? Some say in the Christian consciousness, some in the Church, some in the Bible. But these need not be put in opposition. The Christian religion is both a historic fact and an inward life. It has an objective aspect and a subjective. On the one hand, it appeared at a particular time and has passed through a particular history, it answers to a definite conception of the world, it stands sponsor for a well-known circle of religious and moral ideas. On the other side, it is something entering into the individual life, something not remaining outside of a man but passing through his experience and finding its verification there. If it

is a statement of certain outward and historic facts, it is also the expression of certain spiritual convictions, the outcome of a certain spiritual experience. These two aspects it is impossible to separate. When we ask what Christianity is, we must keep them both in view.

When we think of the historic identity of the Christian religion, we must go back to the period of the origins of the Christian Church. Our Protestant creeds make their appeal to Scripture, and by it they stand or fall. But when we turn to Scripture we find that it too sends us onward. It offers us no infallible basis for doctrine. Not merely is it not free from error, but to speak of its infallibility is to give a totally false idea of its character. It does not claim an unhesitating obedience. It does not impose itself authoritatively upon a mind too weak to learn the truth, not great enough to be responsible for its beliefs. It is the glory of Scripture that it carries us across the centuries and makes us the contemporaries of the Master and His apostles. It brings us right into the presence of the Saviour. Christ is the centre of Christianity and our ultimate authority. The Christian is not a believer in a creed or a zealous defender of the Bible. The Christian is Christ's man.

But this does not mean that we are to set no store by the Apostolic writings, that we are to draw a distinction between them and the Gospels. For Gospels and Epistles alike contribute to our knowledge of Christ, both alike come from the inner circle of His disciples, and if our faith in either be shaken we shall find that we have no good ground for retaining our confidence in the other. Only from both shall we gain an adequate conception of Christ and His religion. There are aspects, indeed, emphasised in the Epistles which are among the most striking and original features of the Christian faith. At the same time, it is to be frankly recognised that all through the New Testament there is a development of theological thought. Beside the main stream there are side currents. Here and there we find back eddies. Sometimes the truth is corrupted or denied. There are accommodations in Jesus to the life of His time, there are limitations of His knowledge, there are views of His that form no true part of the revelation He brought. In the writings of the Apostles we find popular ideas from which they could not shake themselves free, but which are now seen to be inconsistent with their Christian faith. It is not enough, then, to adduce texts in favour of any particular doctrine. We may be able to prove a doctrine Scriptural in that sense and yet be compelled to refuse it a place in our thought. We must show that it legitimates itself by affiliation with the central fact of the Revelation, with the root principle of the Christian faith.

But can we find such a principle? Is there anything we can justly lay hold of as central, distinctive, normative? There is. If

we take into account the teaching of the Synoptics about the kingdom, the teaching of the Fourth Gospel about the mediation of the only Son of the Father, and the teaching, implied more especially in the latter and emphasised in the Epistles, about saving faith, we shall reach a conception of the central fact that will mark out the path we must follow. Redemption is the establishment among men of the Kingdom of the Father-God through the mediation of His only Son and man's personal faith in Him. There is a real mediation between God and man in Christ Jesus, an authentic personal intervention of the Divine. There is a personal and individual appropriation through faith on the part of the Redeemed. There is a kingdom of grace in which God reigns, a society of which Jesus Christ is the Spiritual Head.

All this takes to do with the objective side. It is the issue of our endeavour to discover what Christianity historically is. But it is impossible to separate it from the subjective side. Unless we had already brought that in, we could not have got on so far. For we have been dealing, not with bare facts, but with a certain form of life; with certain psychological processes and ethical results. We have been able to understand the New Testament record, because it was found to have behind it a consciousness like our own, because the facts it contained made appeal to a consciousness like ours, because the experience it reflected was analogous to, or identical with, our own. We believe that Christianity is what we have described it as being, because that is the outcome of a sympathetic study of its records. We believe that it is true for the same reason as moved the first believers. The great central fact is self-authenticating. The conception commends itself to us as worthy, Jesus strikes in upon our life as the Great Reality, and when we surrender ourselves to God in Christ Jesus, we find that He has indeed mediated between us and the Divine, that He has brought God so near that now we know Him, and love Him, and serve Him; that our personal faith in Christ has brought us to this happy issue, and that now God reigns in us and our fellow-believers, and so far His kingdom is already established upon the earth. We may say, then, that our Dogmatic rests upon Scripture, or the Christian consciousness, or the Church; if we understand that none of these can stand alone, and if we remember that the truth always imposes itself by its own self-evidencing power, that we hold by what we have found to answer our deepest needs, by what we have learned to love.

But what is Dr Bovon's conception of the Christian life as we see it around and within? Man, according to Dr Bovon, is an ethical personality rooted in a nature from which it gradually develops itself in the midst of a world which constantly influences it. On the one hand, man feels himself to be dependent upon the



world and upon God. On the other hand, he is free to surrender his life to such keeping as he pleases. He is master of his own destiny, but his destiny is to serve the Infinite Personality behind all and to be happy in His service. Among the influences which are most powerful in his life are certain tendencies to what he recognises to be wrong, which arise in his own nature and which are reinforced strongly from without. These cause a discord between him and God. His sin is felt to be a personal offence against the Eternal Lawgiver. It brings a mist between man and his Maker so that he cannot discern His character aright, and it enslaves him so that he is absolutely unable of himself to enter upon that service of God which is his perfect freedom. When through Scripture and the preaching of the Word Jesus Christ makes appeal to the man, the call comes to him as an individual personality and awakens in him a personal faith. Christ comes with the assurance of pardon and the promise of grace to everyone who repents him of his sin, breaks with his past, and enters into a real life-fellowship with Him. Whenever faith leaps out to Christ a new life begins in the soul. With the assurance of pardon there comes that peace without which the man cannot go on to holiness, but must evermore be distracted by doubts, driven from the pursuit of well-being by visions of wrath. The believer has already begun to die to sin and live to God. Dead in principle from the moment when he believed, the natural man is the subject of a gradual decay which goes on all the years of his life. Sin comes to have less and less hold upon him. Bound to Christ, he can count upon an unfailing source of strength.

Thus the link between the beginning of his new life and its onward progress is not the mere feeling of gratitude. That were but a poor support on which to stay oneself amid the manifold temptations which assail us. Sanctification is only possible through faith; it is the expression of a life that remains in constant communion with the Saviour. If our assurance of pardon depends solely on Him, no less does our growth in holiness. The essential feature, then, of the Christian life is the personal relationship subsisting between Christ and the believer. From first to last God and man are united through Jesus Christ, the only Mediator, in a holy and happy fellowship. God is known as at once holy and loving, seeking always to root out the evil in man's life, and to make him pure, even as Christ is pure. Man is conscious of his ill deserts, of the absence of all merit on his part, and recognises and gladly receives the exceeding grace of God in Christ Jesus. He advances along the heavenly way, but though he grows in purity his ideal, becoming ever fairer, still eludes his grasp, and to the end he is imperfect, humble, conscious of sin. His Christian faith is made

possible by the knowledge of Scripture which the Church secures. But the Church has place only as the association necessary if believers are to act unitedly for the advancement of God's kingdom, and as the body of Christ, which is one, because all its members are united to Christ, who is its Head. The Church is needed to bring men to Christ, but, that done, nothing can come between them and Him. The free human personality stands over against the divine, and the link that unites them is personal and ethical, the one spirit yielding freely to the sweet persuasion of the other. Thus does the Risen Lord, the Living and Glorified Saviour, ever enter into blessed communion with the souls that wait for Him here and keep His word. *Cor ad cor loquitur*. Heaven and earth are made one.

Such being Dr Bovon's general conception of the Christian life, what views does he develop from it on the most closely related points of doctrine? Sin, we are told, is partly nature and partly act. In both cases there is a violation of the divine law. For sin as nature one does not feel himself responsible. It is part of what he has inherited, something he did not make. But when we think of sin as act we feel ourselves guilty, we recognise that it is our doing; and so far as character is second nature and the outcome of personal action, we recognise ourselves as responsible for that. And if we are responsible for something less than our own life, seeing that part of it is nature and came to us, we are likewise responsible for something more, since we help to make the character of others as well as our own. If in this life of ours we consciously violate God's law, we suffer for it, and feel that we suffer justly. But our sense both of guilt and of responsibility is limited. As we are not responsible for what we have not done in person, so we are not liable on account of our sin to an infinite punishment. The punishment which comes to us, and the justice of which we recognise, is the natural outcome of our sin, and consists in the natural evils of life and in death borne by the man with a guilty conscience. Punishment can only cease entirely when sin ceases, and the only expiation of sin is repentance and the break with the evil past and all the suffering that it entails upon the erring spirit. Christ's work, then, has to do with us rather than with God, and it affects us chiefly by loosing us from our sins. It does not save us from their punishment, for the only punishment they bring is inseparable from the person of the sinner. It does not alter God's mind toward us, except in so far as God is able, after we come to Christ, to approve our life as taking the only worthy course. But before we became Christ's, though God was angry with our sin, He still loved us, and now that we are Christ's, and in His love, He is still displeased when we break His law. His holiness and His love remain the same.

His holiness desires, and always must desire, the destruction of sin. His love desires, and always must desire, the rescue of sinful souls. And God's justice is only content when it gains both these ends. Earthly jurisprudence is concerned only with the maintenance of social order, and its justice may be content with the punishment of the criminal. But God's justice is satisfied only by redemption, and not by punishment alone. There is a retributive justice, the outcome of the Divine holiness, through the working of which we all suffer for our sins. But there is a justice which is not retributive but redemptive. For justice is conformity to the Divine order, action in accord with the Divine nature, and the love of God demands the salvation of the sinner. If expiation, then, be only possible through penitence and a new life of holiness, Christ makes expiation only for His disciples. He takes that solidarity in morals which was like to crush them, and He makes it an instrument of deliverance. But while the solidarity of nature rested upon physical descent, the solidarity of grace rests upon a free devotion of the personal life to another, first on Christ's side, and then on ours. In His life and death He perfectly reveals the Father-God, and shows us the way to holiness and home. Thus the value of His work is mainly representative for those who are outside of Him. His work, both as Revealer and Redeemer, is directed towards the individual soul; it makes its appeal to that, and it remains without its destined issue until there has come from the heart the act of appropriating and saving faith. Final damnation can only mean separation from the life of God and the happiness it brings. It must imply wilful continuance in known sin, and can only follow upon a conscious refusal to accept of the salvation in Christ Jesus truly presented, here or hereafter, in this or in a future probation, to the soul. Whether any such refusal will take place Dr Bovon does not feel himself in a position to say. The doctrine of Eternal Punishment he thinks scriptural, in the sense that there are texts which teach it, but he inclines to rule it out as inconsistent with the central fact of redemption. The doctrine of Conditional Immortality, in its ordinary form, he dismisses as intolerable. Restorationism he thinks most worthy of God, and certainly taught in certain passages of Scripture. The matter, however, he finally leaves in suspense, not feeling that he has ground for a definite decision as between the first view and the third.

One question of the greatest importance still waits consideration. What view does Dr Bovon take of the Person of Christ? It is distinctive enough, and very independent. The professor is a keen opponent of the orthodox doctrine, whether in its original form in the Creeds, or as modified by its present-day supporters. He

sympathises to the full with the Ritschlian antipathy to Greek dogma, but refuses altogether to repudiate metaphysical inquiry. He condemns Arianism as making Christ a mere creature, and separating God from His world. Unitarianism is similarly condemned as deistic in character. His own view is briefly this. Christ is not mere man, and from the first was more than man. But He did not exist before His birth, and is distinguished from man, not by His perfect holiness, which would not be an abiding mark of difference, but by the unique privilege of His birth. His manhood, whatever view we take of the story of the miraculous conception, was cut off from the entail of ordinary human life. There lay behind Him, not generations of sinful humanity, but only God the Father. His nature at starting was a direct expression of the life of God. But Christ was not from the first very God. The incarnation was not accomplished at a stroke, but gradually and morally. By patient perseverance Jesus wrought into actuality the possibility of that human-divine nature from which His life took its rise. Out of that He created by His free determination the personality which, when His life closed, became the Man-God, and which has remained glorious in the heavens whither it ascended. Even now Christ is not a rival power to the Father, but subordinate to Him, His divinely chosen organ in the work of redemption, the only mediator between God and man, and His divinity is a grace bestowed upon Him for His obedience. Therefore hath God highly exalted Him. It need scarcely be added that Dr Bovon rejects the Trinitarian doctrine. He thinks it was valuable as expressing the perfect unity of the different agents in the work of salvation. It gave assurance that our safety would not be imperilled by any lack of harmony between those who had undertaken to help us. The Spirit is sometimes spoken of in Scripture as personal and sometimes as impersonal. But Dr Bovon holds that the latter view is to be regarded as the more Scriptural, since it is common enough to personify the impersonal, while the reverse process is unnatural and not to be looked for.

On many points to which it is impossible to refer at present, Dr Bovon is instructive, and some of his happiest and most helpful discussions are on minor doctrines. His historical reviews are of great value; his accounts of opposing schemes are sympathetic. When we do not agree with him we cannot complain that he does not give material enough to enable us to form an adverse judgment. If we must often differ from his way of putting things, we can almost always thank him for suggesting to us a better. Even when his views are hazy we can say of him that he points the way to clearer ideas. The book offers abundant opportunity for criticism, but it is better that here Dr Bovon should speak for himself. He

is still comparatively unknown among us, and when he gets the hearing he deserves, there will be criticism enough. A critical estimate, however, must take into account the earlier volumes on New Testament Theology; for on them the conclusions here expounded mainly rest. Meanwhile, readers may be cordially recommended to turn to Dr Bovon's volumes for themselves. If they wish to come to their theological findings in full view of modern thought and discussion, better help could hardly be got than that furnished by this independent and fair-minded work.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

### **The Preaching of Islam.**

*By T. W. Arnold. Westminster: Constable & Co.*

*8vo, pp. xvi. 385. Price, 12s.*

THAT Muhammadanism was spread by the sword is the view taken not only by Christians, but also by Muhammadans. Speak to an ordinary Muhammadan on the subject, and he will glory in it, and point to it as an evidence of the divine mission of its founder. Those of them who have come into contact with Christian thought and European culture have come to see that this is not only an inadequate explanation of the spread of their faith, but is prejudicial to the acceptance of its claims. They, therefore, seek to emphasise the moral and spiritual side of Islam, and to discount its political and military side. This movement has culminated in India in the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, in which the writer of the above book is a professor, and the influence of whose environment is visible in its pages.

Mr Arnold with great modesty puts forward this volume merely as a tentative one; but it contains a mass of information, the result of painstaking research, presented in interesting literary form, which will make it a standard work on the subject which it treats. His aim, he says, is to deal with the preaching of Islam, and so he does not deal with its wars or its persecutions. He has sought to treat his subject impartially; and if he has at all failed, it is because his plan makes it difficult to avoid being one-sided. In fact, he has been obliged to take the political side of Islam into account, and it might have been better for his special aim had he more avowedly dealt with it.

The defect of his method appears most conspicuously in his treatment of the biography of the Prophet himself. He speaks of him "only as a preacher, as the apostle unto men of a new religion." He tells nothing of his domestic life, but his union with his first wife Khadijah—"truly one of the most beautiful



pictures of a perfect wedded life that history gives us"—and so leaves the impression that he was a model monogamist. But this is not the Muhammad that Islam knows. The polygamous licence and frequent cruelties of his later years are as much part of the Prophet as the continence and mildness of his earlier. The sanctions found for them in the Quran are as authoritative revelations as the earlier teaching.

Making all deductions on these grounds, Mr Arnold has presented us with a most valuable and instructive volume. He traces the progress of Islam in all lands into which it has spread—from Arabia, where it began, to England and America, where its latest converts have been won. It would be impossible within the limits of this article even to glance at all the various countries dealt with. The story of the spread of Muhammadanism in Christian lands is one of the saddest pages of history. The general features in all cases were the same. The Christians were divided among themselves, mostly on points of doctrine, persecuted and persecuting one another. The persecuted welcomed the Muhammadans as deliverers. They knew that under them they would have to pay the poll tax levied on all non-Muhammadans, but they knew also that they would be left at liberty to believe and worship as they pleased. It is strange to think that, in the first spread of Muhammadanism, it should have been welcomed by Christians as a deliverance from the persecutions of fellow-Christians. When once it was politically established, the character in which it came, and the advantages to be gained from joining it, helped to make its proselytising efforts successful.

In Persia the persecutions by the Zoroastrian priests had the same results that persecutions by Christian priests had in Christian lands: preparing the way for Islam. In India there were no such favouring circumstances, and the Muhammadan conquest of that land did not lead to its people in any great numbers embracing the faith of their conquerors. Indian Muhammadanism is generally very corrupt, and partakes of some of the features of Indian caste; but there is a movement towards more exact conformity to its laws. Mr Arnold remarks:—"The influence of Christian mission schools has also been very great in stimulating among some Muhammadans of the younger generation a study of their own religion, and in bringing about a consequent awakening of religious zeal."

It is mostly in Africa and the Malay Archipelago that the spread of Islam by preaching has been effected. Mr Arnold gives many interesting details which merit the study of friends of Christian missions, and might lead them to consider some of their own methods. Two factors specially help forward the spread of

Muhammadanism. First, every Muhammadan is, or is expected to be, a missionary. The spread of the religion is not confined to any teaching or priestly class, but any member of the faith can teach all that is necessary. And Muhammadan traders in all parts of the world make the propagation of their religion part of their duty. Second, the creed is very simple and the practice not difficult. To repeat the formula—"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet," is all that is needful to become a Muhammadan. The convert has then to be instructed in the five practical duties of the religion—(1) recital of the creed; (2) observance of the five times of prayer; (3) payment of legal alms; (4) fasting during the month of Ramadan; (5) the pilgrimage to Mecca. There is no high moral ideal to be set before the convert which would mark the difference between preaching and practice. It is this which must always make the spread of Christianity more difficult than that of Islam. It has an infinitely higher ideal, which is not witnessed to by the lives of most of those who bear the name. But those who are sincere may learn from Islam the duty of personal effort and the wisdom of putting forward the simplest elements in their teaching.

JOHN ROBSON.

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### A. Ritschl's Idee des Reiches Gotte im Licht der Geschichte.

*Kritisch untersucht von Dr R. Wegener. Leipzig: Deichert, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 127. Price, M.2.*

THE theology of Ritschl, and of those who stand in more or less general agreement with him, has already called forth a mass of books and pamphlets dealing with particular parts of the system, and marked by varying degrees of antagonism. The work before us is admittedly critical. Dr Wegener does not conceal his opposition to the fundamental principles of Ritschlianism. Yet he writes in a calm, scientific tone, giving the impression of a desire to deal fairly with positions to which he cannot assent, and not using any of the cheap methods of polemic.

It must always be of supreme interest to trace the genesis and development of an influential system of theological thought. The process has, of course, its dangers, especially that of forging links for the chain out of one's own presuppositions and prejudices, and perhaps, at times, Wegener reads into Ritschl more than can be justified. But the examination of the specified conception is conducted, on the whole, impartially and with great logical force. The

author, who has already dealt with this subject in an article in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (Jahrg. vi. Heft 10), undertakes in his present work a more searching and elaborate treatment of it. He selects Ritschl's conception of the Kingdom of God, because he believes that this is the central point of his theology, and that it is by means of this idea that its historical origin can be disclosed.

Nearly one-half of the book is taken up with a discussion of the place which the conception of the Kingdom has occupied in German theology, in the pre-Kantian period, and then down through Kant, Herder, Stäudlin, Tieftrunk, and others, to the time of Ritschl himself. Starting from the influence of the English deists and moralists on contemporary German theologians, he shows how, at the end of last century, those of the more orthodox, as well as of the rationalistic school, were disposed to base everything in religion on reason and morality. Theology became a "Moraltheologie." But it was necessary to have some biblical basis. This was found in the conception of the Kingdom of God, a conception which could be traced back to Jesus Himself. And what was more important, this idea seemed fitted to bring order and harmony into the ethical and dogmatic propositions of theology. It could, besides, be easily set forth as an idea of the reason, imposing itself spontaneously on the reflecting mind as soon as it surveys, without prejudice, the life and history of natural and revealed religion.

Kant's "Religionslehre," gave an assured place to this conception. Although some theologians might shrink from the "*Moralismus*" which dominated his thought, they could not overlook the great advantage of having their religious system, hitherto so mosaic-like in its composition, developed from a single principle, the idea of the Kingdom of God, and confirmed by reason. Had Kant been a teacher of theology, with the art of attracting disciples, the controversy of to-day would have taken place a hundred years ago.

But in close connection with the spirit of that time was the speculative view of things from the standpoint of the Aim or End. Special importance had been given to this idea owing to the prominent place held by the conception of the providence of God. And so "it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to discover a Biblical conception which could more easily and suitably clothe a speculative - theological representation of the development and revelation of Reason or the Divine Will than just this idea of the Kingdom of God" (p. 17). This idea, which has the most extraordinarily varying content, becomes the "religious formula for teleology." Ritschl, in his "*Unterricht in der Christlichen Religion*," places it at the summit of his system as if it were the principle from which his ethical and (most meagre) dogmatic propositions are derived. He defines it as "the highest good guaranteed by God to

that community which has been founded through His revelation in Christ." This looks a simple enough definition, but Ritschl has a terminology of his own which makes the most arbitrary use of words, and we discover, after a laborious search, that the Kingdom really means for him, "the ethical union of the human race by means of action springing from the motive of universal love of others." This is, however, only a picture of the fancy, and, indeed, the whole system of ideas with which we are dealing here is built up on such pictures.

It is impossible, within our narrow limits, to follow Wegener as he discusses this idea in its connection with the doctrine of Providence, the education of the human race, the self-aim of God (for the Kingdom of God is the aim or end of God Himself). He sums up the results of those discussions on p. 81 as follows: "the old dogmatic conception of the Kingdom of God has been expanded to a picture of the imagination, a dialectical idea, which embraces all things, God and the world, Revelation and Reason; it has become again with Ritschl that which it had been in the speculative school of Kant, the general formula for the teleological view of things." Then follows a minute investigation of teleology, showing how that is really a doctrine of the will, and how, consequently, all religious ideas are only accompanying phenomena which remain in dependence on the activity of reason and are present only that the will may reach its end. Such a religious system, as Wegener points out, has not the position and vitality in the life of the spirit which belonged to the religious conceptions of the old system, for "all its ideas are only dialectical formations, reflections without inner power; whereas, in the old system, they were penetrated by the warmth of feeling and produced by the energy which belong to the Christian faith" (p. 83).

But while Wegener holds that social politics must have a far larger place in this system than religious faith, he is willing to admit that it has a more favourable aspect also. It is a reaction against the idea that Christianity consists in the outward appropriation of certain propositions which have no access to the soul (p. 114). Only, it is not a religious view of the world at all, but a speculation which sees all things exclusively in the light of the final end (p. 117).

It is difficult, in a few paragraphs, even to give a bare outline of an argument so closely welded together in all its parts as that which is here presented. But enough, perhaps, has been said to show the interest and importance of Dr Wegener's investigation, which is both an acute and a solid piece of work.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

**Communication on the Historical Setting of 1 Peter.**

ALL students of St Paul have felt how much has been gained by an accurate knowledge of the circumstances in which his Epistles were written. This work has not been attempted in the case of St Peter, except in a very general manner. But the publication of Ramsay's "*Church in the Roman Empire*" has opened many important questions with respect to Peter's Epistles, and has thrown much light on many difficult points in connection with them.

It may fairly be said that no book of the New Testament is so full of the sufferings of the saints as is the first Epistle of Peter. Even the Apocalypse, though more pictorial in its accounts of these afflictions, does not deal with the subject so constantly. The allusions to persecution, therefore, in the Epistle demand our first attention. The first reference is i. 6 and 7, where the word "temptations" should be rendered "trials," as in iv. 12. These trials are here described as numerous, severe, but not likely to be continuous. The next passage to examine is ii. 12, 15. Here we find that one charge brought against the Christians was that of being evil-doers, and the apostle exhorts them to "seemly behaviour," that in the day of visitation their persecutors may discover their mistake and glorify God in beholding their good works. What was this day of visitation? There have been three different interpretations of it—(1) the day of Judgment; (2) the day of God's mercy, in accordance with Luke xix. 44; (3) the day of examination by magistrates; and this last must be preferred, else how should the Gentiles glorify God in beholding it proved that the works of the Christians are good? And, moreover, this third explanation alone suits the following verses, and provides for a natural advance of thought to the king and governors. Let it be noticed also that it is the Gentiles and not the Jews who bring the charges against the Christians.

ii. 19, 20: Here again it is clear that the Christians, to whom the writer addresses himself, have been suffering under a false charge of being evil-doers, but it is hinted that some "do well and suffer for it."

iii. 6: "And are not put in fear by any terror"—in these words the sharpness of the persecution they endure is suggested.

iii. 13-18: Here there are three things to notice. 1st, That the Christians were not merely punished as evil-doers, but also suffered for righteousness sake. 2nd, That persecution had reached that stage in which enquiry was instituted, for they were exhorted to be ready with their answer, that is their apologia, their defence (*cf.* Acts xxv. 6; 2 Tim. iv. 16). 3rd, That the



death penalty was exacted. To suffer is a euphemism for to die, as the comparison with the sufferings of Jesus clearly proves, whether we read "Christ also died for sins," or "Christ also suffered for sins."

iv. 34 : Here we see the reason why the Gentiles speak evil of the Christians, and are reminded of Tacitus, who, speaking of the Christians, describes their "sullen hatred of the whole Roman race."

iv. 12-16 : This is perhaps the most important description of the afflictions of the Christians in the Epistle. In the first place, the expressions "fiery trial" and "partakers of the sufferings of Christ" indicate that the death penalty was exacted. Then the three expressions—"If ye are reproached for the name of Christ," "but if a man suffer as a Christian," and "but let him (as a martyr) glorify God in this name"—indicate clearly that not only did Christians suffer under the charge of evil-doers, but their punishment as Christians had commenced in the Empire. The nineteenth verse is another evidence that this punishment was death : v. 7-9 is a further indication that the Christians were diligently sought out, and also that this persecution was not an isolated outbreak of animosity to them, but was world-wide.

The next question is, Where do we find conditions of this kind, and at what period? In the first place, no such state of things is discoverable within the Acts of the Apostles. The persecutions related there are largely the work of the Jews. To the very end of that book the officials of Rome treat Paul with respect. At Iconium the tribulation suffered was a town riot; at Lystra it was the hatred of the Jews; at Philippi the Christians were confounded with the Jews, and were only attacked because of the fear of monetary loss. It was trade considerations which roused the mob at Ephesus, but the authorities told the ringleaders that they were in danger for the disturbance. At Thessalonica there was rioting, but the magistrates would not prosecute the Christians, but only took security of Jason and the rest and let them go. The attitude of the Roman mind to the Christians within the period covered by the Acts of the Apostles is perfectly expressed by Gallio of Corinth—"I am not minded to be a judge of this matter." It is easy to see that the conditions of 1 Peter were very different from those of the Acts, and an inspection of Paul's Epistles in connection with the Acts clearly shows that the conditions of 1 Peter were not fulfilled previous to A.D. 64. It was, however, in the summer of that year that an event occurred which was fraught with terrible consequences to the Christians. Rome was half destroyed by fire. The cause of this fire was difficult to find, but the Emperor Nero was

strongly suspected of causing it himself. The following is the description given by Tacitus of the course pursued by the Emperor. "Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and on the evidence of such men a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed upon clear evidence of their having set fire to the city, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race. They were put to death with exquisite cruelty. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night." At first sight this seems to suit the circumstances of 1 Peter. It seems to explain the expressions "suffering as evil-doers" and "fiery trial," and the comparison with the sufferings of Christ. But when we come to look at it more closely it is unsatisfactory. The martyrs of the Neronian persecution suffered only as evil-doers, while 1 Peter refers to their suffering for *The Name*, that is, as Christians apart from their conduct or supposed conduct. In Nero's persecution they were destroyed apparently without examination concerning their religion; in 1 Peter they have the opportunity of giving an "apologia" for "the hope which is in them." Moreover, the Neronian persecution was limited to Rome, and the letter is addressed to the churches in the provinces of Asia Minor. For these reasons we must lay aside the period of the Neronian persecution, as not fulfilling the conditions we require. We must, however, mark the year 64 as one of vital importance in our argument, for it was then that the attitude of the Roman Empire to Christianity (in the metropolis at any rate) changed, from one of an indifferent toleration to one of marked hostility. We must pass on to the correspondence between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan in the year A.D. 112, which is of first importance because Pliny was Governor of the provinces, Bithynia and Pontus. Pliny found in his provinces a great number of Christians, and, strict Roman official as he was, proceeded to put the law in force against them. But finding himself in difficulties, he wrote to the Emperor to enquire of him, not about the law, but about the administration of the law. From this correspondence we learn (1) that the law made it a criminal offence to be a Christian apart entirely from the conduct of the Christian; (2) that enquiry was instituted; (3) that the penalty was death; (4) that the law had been in force for a long time, for he refers to recantations made twenty-five years previously. Here then we find the conditions which were beginning to exist in 1 Peter fully developed.

Now, is it not obvious that the attention of the officials of Rome having been directed to the Christians by the action of Nero, they would soon have a clearly defined policy of dealing with them? Tacitus tells us that the extreme cruelty of Nero was followed by compassion. "Humanity," he says, "relented in favour of the Christians;" but he continues, "The manners of that people were of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice." This no doubt was the Roman view of the case, and but a few years would be required to define the attitude of the Empire to the church in such form as we find it fully developed in the time of Trajan, and partially so in 1 Peter. The usages of Rome would take a little time to spread into the provinces. These things therefore taken together point to about the years 70-75 as fulfilling the conditions the Epistle demands.

In the first verse of the Epistle the persons are named to whom it is addressed. "To the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

It will be worth while to look at what is meant by the Dispersion. It is used to describe the Jews who live away from their own land, but it specially carries with it the idea of affliction, which necessitates this exile, and is indeed in some cases synonymous with captivity (see Isa. xxviii. 25; Jer. xxxiv. 17; Ps. cxlvii. 2). At first sight, therefore, one would suppose that the persons addressed are the Jews scattered throughout the provinces named, and the use of the word in James's Epistle would lead one to that conclusion. But examining the contents of the Epistle, we see that this explanation will not do. That the writer contemplated Jewish readers is clear from his abundant use of Scripture and his allusions to the Jewish ritual (i. 19, ii. 9). But it cannot be addressed exclusively to Jews, for there are many expressions in the Epistle which would be inappropriate were that the case. As, for instance, i. 14, "Not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in the time of your ignorance": *cf.* ii. 10, iii. 6, and particularly iv. 3, "For the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked . . . in abominable idolatries." We must therefore understand Peter to have adapted this word to Christian use, and to address Christians who have been driven from their homes by affliction, both Jews and Gentiles, and who are "sojourning" in the provinces named. When would such a dispersion take place? Two events occurred at about the same time, which could not fail to have just such an effect—the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, and the Neronian persecution, A.D. 64-68. Allowing time for persecution to spread to these places of refuge, a date of about A.D. 75 would again be found for this Epistle.

Let us then look at the countries named. According to Lightfoot and Ramsay, they must be considered as the names of Roman provinces, and therefore include the whole of Asia Minor north of the Taurus, of which the leading towns were Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia, Laodiceæ, Colossæ, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and many others. Now these are just the places refugees from both Rome and Jerusalem would be likely to flee to. They would find Christianity well organised and powerful, they would find excellent centres for business purposes. The Romans would not be so far exiled as to lose touch with home, and the Jewish Christians would already find large and prosperous communities of their own people. All this is confirmatory of the above suggestions for the time and circumstances of the first Epistle of Peter.

It is a question of some importance where the Epistle was written from. In the last verse but one we read: "She that is in Babylon elect together with you saluteth you." Was this Babylon the well-known one on the Euphrates, or was it the symbolical term for Rome, as we find it used in the Apocalypse? Three arguments for the latter alternative may be produced—1st, Josephus relates that, in the reign of Caligula, the Jews, on account partly of persecution, partly of pestilence, removed from Babylon to Seleucia, where the greater part of them died in new quarrels which arose. This removes the chief reason for Peter living in Babylon. 2nd, The knowledge possessed by Peter of the Pauline Epistles, which cannot be questioned, would be inconceivable if he was living so far east. 3rd, The marked Romanised character of the letter is equally difficult to understand if that hypothesis is accepted. We must therefore give our adherence to the other alternative—that Babylon in this Epistle means the new Babylon of Rome.

But when was Peter at Rome? It seems clear that he was not there in A.D. 58, or surely there would have been some mention of him in Paul's Epistle to the Church in that city, especially considering the numerous personal messages in it. For the same reason he cannot have been there when Paul wrote the Epistles of the imprisonment, nor just before Paul's martyrdom, or surely he would have been mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy. This brings us down to A.D. 68, or very near the date above suggested for 1 Peter.

Now comes a considerable difficulty. The Church has believed for centuries that Peter died during the Neronian persecution. If he did, either the whole of the above argument falls to the ground, or the writer of the Epistle was not Peter. But is the belief that Peter was a martyr under Nero, one to be readily accepted in the face of so many reasons to the contrary? Let us see upon what foundations it rests. Jerome says that Peter, after

being Bishop of the Church of Antioch, preached to the Dispersion in Pontus, &c., went to Rome in the reign of Claudius for the purpose of punishing Simon Magus, and for twenty-five years was bishop of that Church until the last year of Nero's reign, when he suffered martyrdom by crucifixion with his head downwards. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to Corinth, says, Peter was a martyr. Dionysius of Corinth, cited by Eusebius, says that Peter and Paul founded the Churches of Corinth and Rome, and were later on martyred in Italy at the same time. Tertullian says, Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome. Caius, Presbyter of Rome, says that he had seen the trophies of these two Apostles in Rome. Eusebius expressly says, Peter suffered under Nero. So also Lactantius.

Now it is certain that in a great deal of this there is much that is mythical. The Bishopric of Antioch, for instance, and the twenty-five years' residence as Bishop in Rome; for, according to the Scriptures, Peter was in Jerusalem, A.D. 50, where Paul met him; and the statement that *Peter* and Paul founded the Church of Antioch must be placed in the same category. There seems every reason to believe, from so universal a tradition, that Peter spent some little time in Rome, but amid so much inaccuracy there can be no reasonable foundation for the belief in the particular of his suffering under Nero. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that Peter wrote this letter from Rome somewhere about the year A.D. 75.

Does, however, chap. v. verse 1, point to a state of church government existing in Rome so late as the date proposed. "I who am a fellow elder." It is sufficient to remark on this point that Lipsius, after a laborious critical comparison of the different catalogues of popes, arrives at the conclusion that Linus, Anacletus and Clement were Roman presbyters (or elders) at the close of the first century (Schaff), so that there is no difficulty in Peter calling himself an elder in the year 75.

Art has created a difficulty in representing Peter as an aged man in the days of our Lord. This arose—1st, from the fact that he was married, which, considering the age men married in the East, is of no weight; and 2nd, from his leadership amongst the twelve, which is better accounted for by his character.

Placed in this historical setting, the first Epistle of Peter becomes, I venture to think, more luminous and interesting.

FRED. J. BRIGGS.



**Saint Columba and Saint Augustine.**

1. *Prophecies, Miracles, and Visions of St Columba, First Abbot of Iona: Written by St Adamnan, Ninth Abbot. A new Translation. London: Oxford University Press. Price, 1s.*
2. *Saint Columba: A Record and a Tribute, to which are added the Altus and some other Remains, with Offices for the thirteen hundredth anniversary of his death (from ancient sources). By Duncan Macgregor, Minister of Inverallochy, Author of "Early Scottish Worship," &c. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt, 37 George Street. Price, 1s.*
3. *The Mission of St Augustine to England, according to the original Documents, being a Handbook for the thirteenth century. Edited by Arthur James Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, and Lady Margaret, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: At the University Press. Price, 5s.*

It is a pleasing sign of revived interest in the Celtic period of church history to find Adamnan's life of S. Columba one of the books prescribed for the final Theological Honour School at Oxford, and for the B.D. examination at Durham. This use of the *Vita S. Columbæ auctore Adamnano* at Durham accounts for the appearance of a Latin edition of the work by Dr Fowler of that city, which was noticed in the *Critical Review* when it appeared. That edition has been followed by a translation from the same scholarly editor, the title of which is given above. In this cheap and handy issue of the classic biography Dr Fowler's explanatory notes and glosses are necessarily few, but the few will be specially welcomed by Irish and Scottish readers. Students across the Channel will read with all the greater interest when they learn or are reminded that as often as the Ninth Abbot of Iona mentions "Scotia" he means Ireland, and that what figures as the "Lough of the Calf" is their own Belfast Lough. Then in North Britain a good many readers of Dr Fowler's translation will be grateful to him for the information that "the lake of the river Nisa" is Loch Ness, that "Airchart-don" is Glen Urquhart, that Artdamuirchol is Ardnamurchan, and "Seian Island" is the Celtic of Skye.

Mr Macgregor's work is the product of an enthusiast for all that is Celtic and of an ardent admirer of the Celtic apostle of Caledonia. The Record, the Tribute and the Translations are all creditable to the research and skill of the parish minister of Inverallochy. The faculty which is least in evidence in his brochure is the judicial or critical. The absence of this quality vitiates what is advanced regarding Columba's prayers and his alleged power of working miracles. It also lessens the value of the Offices which form the closing portion

of the booklet. The service for S. Columba's Day was compiled in the hope that it might be useful this year in connection with the appointment of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the ninth of June and the Sunday following. It does not appear that the Offices thus supplied, taken mainly from the Ordinary of the Divine Office in the Aberdeen Breviary, were made use of by either the Protestant or the Catholic clergy who held commemoration services in Iona this summer. If the proffered service was brought under the notice of those who arranged for these functions on successive weeks they would probably justify the setting of it aside on two grounds. First, That Bishop Elphinstone's Breviary only goes back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and so has no claim to be considered of Celtic antiquity; and, second, That, if ever there was a vernacular service-book in the Celtic Church, no fragment of it in *any ancient Celtic dialect* has yet been brought to light.

In the same month of this year, during which Protestant and Popish clergymen of Scotland were commemorating the thirteenth centenary of S. Columba, the Church of England was celebrating the same centenary of the landing in Kent of S. Augustine, with which is associated by most Anglican historians the founding of the English Church. In anticipation of this commemoration the late Archbishop Benson desired to have compiled a handbook, and laid down the plan to be followed for its preparation. The desire has been given effect to, and the plan has been faithfully followed by Dr Mason of Canterbury in his book *The Mission of St Augustine*. About two-thirds of the work are occupied with the documents bearing on the mission, consisting of Pope Gregory's Epistles and Replies to Augustine's questions, and of extracts from the writings of Bede. These are given both in their Latin original and in a translation with footnotes. The remainder of the book is devoted to four Dissertations, which deal in succession with "The Political outlook of Europe in 597," "The Mission of Augustine and his Companions in relation to other agencies in the Conversion of England," "The Landing-place of St Augustine," and "Some Liturgical Points relating to the Mission of St Augustine." The second of these is from the pen of the editor. His share in the work, especially his estimate of Celtic movements which paved the way for and blended with that set on foot by Gregory, is admirably done and has resulted in the production of a work which, had the late Primate of Canterbury lived to see, he would doubtless have declared to be the "precious little book" he desired it to be.

The dissertations of Dr Mason's three coadjutors are all creditable pieces of literary workmanship, displaying candour, breadth of view and ripe scholarship. Probably the one which will give rise to the

greatest amount of criticism is the third, by Mr Hughes, Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge. It deals with the four rival spots which have claimed the honour of being the landing place. The erection near Cliff's End of Lord Granville's Cross and the charm of Dean Stanley's advocacy have of late given to Ebbsfleet possession of the coveted distinction. But Mr Hughes is not convinced that Haddan and Stubbs, Bright and Green and Maclear are right in adopting the conclusions of the Dean in this matter. He advances a strong claim for Richborough, and so agrees with Thorn in following the earlier Sprott and the later Elmham. The objection that Richborough is not in the Isle of Thanet, but lies nearer to the mainland is ingeniously got over, and the considerations that tell in favour of the deserted Roman fort are forcibly put. The object of the missionaries in going to Thanet at all was probably to avoid coming at first into too close contact with the land and people of King Ethelbert. That object would seem to be best served at Richborough, a convenient and at the same time a sequestered spot for the Roman Augustine to arrive at, coming like another Agricola to take possession of Britain once more in the name of Rome. Whether they agree with him or not the readers of the Cambridge Professor's Dissertation will be constrained to admit that he has something to say in favour of his belief "that Augustine's first night in England was spent beneath the rock-like walls of the Roman fortress of Richborough."

C. G. M'CRIE.

**Aramäische Dialektproben. Lesestücke zur Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch, zumeist nach Handschriften des Britischen Museums, mit Wörterverzeichnis.**

*Herausgegeben von Gustaf Dalman, a.o. Professor an der Universität, Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo (large), pp. xii. 56. Price, M.1.80.*

PROFESSOR DALMAN'S Aramaic Chrestomathy is well fitted to help students of that Semitic dialect. It contains selections in Aramaic from various ancient documents, from Targums on a number of passages of the Old Testament, from Midrashin on a variety of subjects, and also from the Talmud of Jerusalem and Babylon. The exercises show care in selection, and range from a few simple sentences to narratives of some length. Professor Dalman's object, however, is not simply to furnish a graduated series of readings. In his "Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch," which was published at Leipzig in 1894, he distinguishes between what

he calls the Aramaic of Judaea and Galilee and that of a later mixed dialect. The volume before us is intended to supplement the grammar, and the selections have been made with the view of exhibiting the varieties in the Aramaic dialect, referred to or discussed in the Grammar. The text is followed by several pages of useful notes, and by a vocabulary, which will be found sufficient for those who have mastered the elements of Aramaic grammar. The references in the vocabulary are to the sections of Dalman's Grammar mentioned above.

In these days, when linguistic research is being pushed so far, and critical results depend so frequently on the exact meaning of a word, it cannot be of little importance that the language in use in Palestine in the days of our Saviour should, as far as possible, be accurately known. Professor Dalman's labours are of considerable value in this direction.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

### **St Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam.**

*By David Somerville, M.A., Roseburn Free Church, Edinburgh.*  
 [The Cunningham Lectures for 1897.] *Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 328. Price, 9s.*

OF Lectureships endowed for the purpose of promoting Theological study, it is generally supposed that already we have enough, and more than enough. The terms of such foundations usually provide that the Lecturer shall publish what he has orally delivered, and undoubtedly this provision has entailed a certain amount of hardship on some of the Lecturers, and no small burden upon the reading public. The Lectures produced under the stimulus of these endowments are of three kinds: those which are rapidly manufactured for the occasion; those which are evidently a gathering up of the miscellaneous material which has been lying unused in note-books and in the writer's mind; and those which give the long-delayed opportunity to a careful and modest student who for many years has been bending his thought on one subject, and has again and again revised his opinions and carefully weighed the ideas of other men. It is to the last class these Lectures by Mr Somerville belong. They are the ripe fruit of years of concentrated study, the deliverances of a well-informed and well-balanced mind on one of the most important of theological topics. By its keen and profound insight, by its sanity, and by its fulness of knowledge the volume will at once take its place as the best authority on that department of New Testament Theology with which it deals. Thoroughly modern in its information and method, it yet betrays no readiness to part with old ideas and no craving for novelty as novelty. The influence of

Ritschl is discernible, but Mr Somerville is an intelligent and independent disciple, who knows when to part company with the master. He is to be congratulated on producing one of the most attractive treatises of recent years, a well-considered and important addition to theological knowledge.

It was inevitable that Mr Somerville should have something to say of the relation of Paul's teaching to that of our Lord, and especially of the apparent difference between the Apostle's representation of Christ and that given by our Lord Himself. "The feeling of an antagonism between the two, and of dissatisfaction with the prominence of the Pauline doctrine in the thought of the Church, has found utterance in the cry frequently raised, 'not Paul, but Christ'; and the plea, in itself a reasonable one, on behalf of a 'return to Christ,' means, on the lips at least of some, the entire repudiation of the Pauline Christology, as being a corrupt form of the original doctrine." Mr Somerville wisely admits the one-sidedness of the Pauline picture of Christ. The Apostle who had found his salvation in the power of the Risen and Glorified Christ, passes by the ethical teaching of the Prophet of Nazareth. It was not the supremacy of our Lord's wisdom which had impressed him, nor does he dwell on the revelation of God which we have in the life of Jesus. "One who believed, as Paul did, that the real significance of Christ for man's salvation belongs to His heavenly and not to His earthly life, and who, in consequence, goes back on what was transacted in those brief years of the Lord's life on earth only in so far as they bore on the transcendent virtue of His present life for us, must needs omit much that is of the highest importance for us to include in our picture of Christ" (p 236). But Mr Somerville emphatically denies that there is any inconsistency between the Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of the Epistles. And one of the most interesting passages in the Lectures is that in which he holds the balance between the two, and illustrates the bearing of the historic Christ upon the Christ of experience, pointing out with precision the error in the two extremes, in the depreciation of the value of the historic life of Christ, and in the concentration of attention on that life to the exclusion of the risen glory. Elsewhere (p. 10) he says: "Christ and Paul were not rival teachers; and, before we criticise the Apostle, it is necessary that we should understand him and the precise relation in which he stood to the Lord. He does not come before us as a commentator, or an interpreter of the words of Christ, but as an interpreter of Christ Himself, and of the relation of His death and risen life to the religious wants of man. Jesus' own work was primarily not to teach, but to live the Life; not to say something, but to be and do something. And Paul recognised it as his task not to expound or enforce the doctrines of



his Master, but to open up the message of His life and death." It is one of the excellencies of the book that the incompleteness of the earthly life and the supreme value of the heavenly state of Christ are everywhere kept in view. "It is always of the Exalted Jesus Paul speaks, of whom he predicates what he believes to be true regarding Him. The supreme worth of Christ for Paul was one that belonged to Him in His present and invisible heavenly life. In his view, the Christhood of Jesus was not an accomplished fact till He had risen from the dead and had entered on the higher stage of Being and activity that followed. The historic Jesus alone was no Messiah to Paul."

The charm of Mr Somerville's lectures arises in large part from his clear recognition of the fact that the main source of Paul's conception of Christ was his own experience. "In the consciousness of what the glorified Christ was to him in his personal life, we are to look for the genesis of Paul's Christology." His Christ is the Christ of his experience, not a philosophical conception or construction, not the result of an adjustment of the ideas of his rabbinic training to this newly-discovered figure. Christ revealed Himself to Paul through the wealth of moral and religious good which He communicated to him. So that instead of a dry and lifeless statement of theological propositions deducible from the writings of Paul, we have in these lectures a picture of Christ which is enriched and coloured with the warm blood of his religious life. At every point we feel ourselves to be in contact with what is real and personal, and are never sent adrift upon the shoreless and barren sea of formal discussion. Indeed, the only question is whether Mr Somerville has not been too exclusive in his rejection of all other sources of Paul's conceptions. As a protest against the too general endeavour to reduce the Apostle's theology to Hellenism or Rabbinism, this is a position one hesitates to find any fault with. Yet considering that from Gamaliel Paul must have received pretty definite views regarding the Messiah and redemption, it is not unreasonable to expect to find traces of this teaching in the Epistles. The utmost that Mr Somerville will allow is declared in connection with the idea of Christ as the Heavenly Man. "It may well be that he borrowed from the systems with which he was familiar the terms in which he expressed his thought, for that thought had affinity with the speculations of the schools. These terms would naturally occur in thinking of the truth that was revealed in Christ. But the truth itself was not derived from these speculations. It was an intuition which he owed to his spiritual understanding of his Master." If this be an extreme statement it is yet in the right direction. Spiritual experience is not the only source of knowledge of the spiritual world ; but it is a source, and the surest.

Paul's knowledge of Christ, then, being derived from the impression made upon him by His exalted Personality, what precisely did he thus learn regarding Him? He learned that He was the Spiritual Man and the Son of God. From the moment that He was laid hold of by Christ he was conscious of a new creative force entering his life. Conscious that this force proceeding from Christ for the renewal of his life was the power of the Holy Spirit, he recognised Christ as the Spiritual Man, "a Being whose nature was Spirit, a man distinguished from and contrasted with all others in this, that the Spirit of God was the indwelling power of His personal life." Similarly by his new experience of forgiveness and freedom, that is, of sonship, and by his emancipation from the feeling of estrangement and bondage produced by the Law, he was led to recognise Christ, in whom he enjoyed this new life, as the Son of God. Thus Christ is "the Archetypal Man, the revelation of the Divine idea of human nature, the Second Man, the Prototype of a new race differing from the first man in its realising the capacity for the Divine and Spiritual that must otherwise remain a capacity only in the nature we are born with." In the elaboration of these ideas Mr Somerville brings us into touch with the very heart of Paulinism.

Some difference of opinion will be evoked by Mr Somerville's treatment of the Death of Christ. From the two passages (Gal. iii. 13, and 2 Cor. v. 14) which are usually referred to as ground for believing that Paul held a substitutionary theory, Mr Somerville finds himself unable to deduce so much. Of the former passage he says:—"There arises a serious difficulty in the way of our giving a universal scope to an argument that is intended primarily to explain the deliverance of the Jews from the consequences of the transgressions of their law, and that carries on the face of it the marks of its limited significance." But surely Paul meant in writing to the Galatians to illustrate not merely Jewish but universal salvation; and if we are to limit the application of the Epistle to the Jews, because they and their ideas are in the foreground, we lose one of the most illuminating passages in his writings. Even what Mr Somerville says of the Apostle's use of sacrificial language requires some modification. It is of course true that there is only scanty reference to sacrifice in his Epistles, and it is also true that the nature of Christ's sacrifice is very apt to be misunderstood by those who simply transfer to it the ideas connected with the sacrifices of the Old Testament. But it is going a little too far to aver that these Levitical sacrifices can shed *no* light upon the death of Christ. We, in our circumstances, may find it easier to interpret that death directly and independently, but obviously the Apostles found it natural to connect the cross with the sacrifices to which they had been accustomed. Those sacrifices had been instrumental

in maintaining in the Jewish mind certain great and necessary religious ideas, and these ideas were perpetuated in the death of Christ. We cannot but feel that in this part of his book, Mr Somerville has allowed his own dogmatic findings to influence his interpretation of the statements of St Paul.

The fifth lecture is devoted to the "Later Developments" of the Pauline Christology as promulgated in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and nowhere do Mr Somerville's maturity of thought and skilfulness of treatment appear to greater advantage. But his power as a theologian is most conspicuous in the lecture on "The Eternal Nature of Christ." This chapter is mainly critical, and the various attempts to construct a theory of the relation of the human to the divine in Christ are passed in review; the Lecturer's conclusion being given in these terms:—"I confess I have little confidence in any speculation that has been formed on the subject, or in the power of the human mind to grapple successfully with the difficulties of it. It lies beyond our experience; all forms of speech about Christ as pre-incarnate must necessarily be figurative and imperfect." But we have not merely criticism in this chapter, but some significant and instructive positive statements. "The difference of metaphysical being between Christ and all others must be acknowledged. But it is in virtue of what He became through the participation of our humanity, and through His exaltation as Man, victorious over sin and death, that He is the object of our religious faith and love, that He is to us the vehicle of the Spirit of God, and the Mirror in whom God's face is seen, that His Person, in short, is invested with the unspeakable importance it possesses for the moral and religious life of the race." And again: "The Divine is intelligible to us only as the Principle or Causality of that which is highest and most perfect in our notion of the human. And Christ is recognised by us as the union of the two, because He is the producing cause in us, and in all who surrender themselves to Him, of that life of righteousness and love in which we reach the perfection for which we were made. The truth of our Lord's Divinity must rest, as we have seen in this review of our Lord's teaching, on the experience that testifies to the Divine life that proceeds from Him." Mr Somerville's book is in fact not only the best exposition we have of the Christology of St Paul, but an irresistible apologetic, reclaiming Christ from the wilds of theological deductions and debate, and giving Him back to the real interests and experience of men. It will create fresh interest in the study of Christology, and furnish new methods for its pursuit. For even those who may be disposed to criticise both Mr Somerville's principles and some of his results, must acknowledge that he has invested his subject with fresh attractiveness, and has made a great contribution to its knowledge.

MARCUS DODS.

**M'Giffert's Apostolic Age.**

*A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, by A. C. M'Giffert, Ph.D., D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Seminary, New York. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. [*International Theological Library.*] Pp. xii. 680. 8vo. Price, 12s.

THIS fine work by Philip Schaff's successor has been in our hands too short a time to allow of more than the expression of a provisional estimate as to many of its distinctive positions. But as to its high excellence in general, and that even in some places where it may be regarded by those familiar only with the traditions of English and American New Testament scholarship as over hardy, there can be no question. In a work of this sort there are sure to be slips and shortcomings which a jealous eye can magnify to the obscuring of large merits. But in this case the chief loss would be the critic's own.

To any study of the Apostolic Age the estimate formed of the Acts is necessarily crucial. And here our author stands mid-way between the ready suspicion of Weizsäcker and the large confidence of Ramsay; leaning more to the latter in matters of substantial correctness, save where error may be due to simple misconstruction of more primitive sources. In his Preface he expresses agreement with Harnack, his "honoured teacher," "in the treatment of the Book of Acts as based in the main upon trustworthy sources"—referring to the latter's *Chronologie*, which appeared too late to be used in the present work. Briefly stated, then, his own view is that the traditional ascription of Acts to a Luke implies either a compiler of that name (not "the beloved physician"), or the use of a narrative by Paul's associate, traceable in the "we" passages of our present book. He agrees with Ramsay and others in tracing it to the reign of Domitian on account of the situation implied in it; thinking that "the author's lack of acquaintance with many of Paul's epistles, and the indications of a knowledge of his book on the part of Christian writers of the early second century, make it inadvisable to put it into a later period." It seems hard to deny that Dr M'Giffert is right in detecting traces of a certain unacquaintance with the genius of primitive Jerusalem Christianity, and even of a general tendency to superimpose the categories of A.D. 80-90 upon the statements of his earlier sources—themselves not always contemporary eye-witnesses. Cases of this kind may be; the sort of corporate authority virtually attributed to the Twelve at certain crises (though it is easy to overstate this, as Hort points out); the exact ground of the repressive measures adopted after a

time by the Sadducean hierarchy (the historicity of which in general is maintained); and the account of Pentecost, including the conception that the Holy Spirit was there bestowed for the first time (Acts i. 5, 8, cf. Luke xxiv. 49 in contrast to John xx. 22). But these<sup>1</sup> and the others collected in a note to p. 237 (of which some depend on a special exegesis, while some are hardly *ad rem*) can hardly be said to be *impossible* to any of Paul's associates, however situated before and at the time of writing. Far more weighty are the allegations (p. 462 f.) that the author of Acts was so little of a Paulinist as to perceive no difference between Paul's conception of the Gospel itself and that of the other apostles, and to treat his hero as subordinate to the latter and as deriving his authority in large measure from them. Such points call for grave consideration. On the other hand, M'Giffert shows no adequate feeling for the strength of the case as stated, say, by Ramsay. He writes that "if anything is clear, it is that the Book of Acts is not a mere collection of documents, but a well-ordered and artistically arranged composition." But is it an artistic thing to let "we" passages simply crop out here and there, without warning or comment, unless the author be himself really writing as an eye-witness? We have noted no attempt to grapple with this obvious difficulty. We miss, too, at times a fair application of this consideration—"Granted certain *motifs* for the compilation of this work, what selective limitation would they naturally lead to in the writer's use of his materials?" Such an author does not deny, or even depreciate, much that he does not care to record. This applies, for instance, to M'Giffert's criticism of narratives like those of Paul's preaching at Thessalonica and Corinth, from which one would hardly suspect the large results among the Gentiles which Paul's own Epistles prove actually to have been attained. Sometimes, indeed, he succeeds, by a careful exegesis, in dissipating doubts cast by others on his author's historicity. It seems likely that by a yet more careful exegesis he might have carried the process a good deal farther.

Chapter I. deals with *The Origin of Christianity*, under the headings "Judaism," "John the Baptist," "Jesus." The first of these is excellently, if briefly, handled. But the representation of John's attitude does not strike us as happy. It mistakes John's modesty for the want of a sense of distinctive mission; and does not allow for his perplexity at Jesus, as fulfilling only one side of his own Messianic ideal: hence his doubt. Again we cannot admit that "there is no indication in our sources that Jesus thought of the coming of the Spirit as instituting a new stage in the Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> And one may add the apparent misconception as to the date of Theudas (v. 36).



of God," unless we deny the substance of John xiv. 16-26., xvi. 7-15—which our author by no means asks us to do. Nor does it seem correct to ignore Paschal associations as attaching to Christ's words in Mark xiv. 24. At such a season "my blood of the Covenant" must surely have pointed that way (rather than to the "sacrifice at Horeb"); and this, quite apart from the further question as to the nature of the Breaking of Bread or the Lord's Supper among the primitive Christians.

Chapter II. is devoted to *Primitive Jewish Christianity* in five sections. In that styled "The New Beginning," our author tries to show how the disciples gathered afresh at Jerusalem after a general flight to Galilee, to take up the broken thread of their Master's work. But the picture is not a very convincing one: the evacuation of Jerusalem seems too complete. The data, however, are confessedly perplexing; and there one must leave it for the present. As to the nature of the appearances of the Risen One, he is content to dwell on the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the witnesses, and leave the objective side of the visions a mystery. He rightly starts from 1 Cor. xv. 4 ff., and is inclined to infer that "it was primarily to Peter that the Church owed its belief in the resurrection."

The treatment of the apostolic consciousness reflected in the speeches of Acts ii-iv., while as yet their ideas were more Jewish than Christian, is very faithful. "The disciples contented themselves with the demonstration of the proposition that Jesus is the Messiah, and it apparently did not occur to them to ask what his Messiahship involved for Jesus Himself. It was enough to know that he was the Christ." The Messianic idea, in the form common to them and their hearers, was as yet their all-embracing category; nor had the personality of *Jesus* the Messiah so penetrated it in their thinking as to have transformed it into a specifically new type. This came only with their life-experience, quickened by St Paul's deeper insight. The Kingdom still lay essentially in the future, beyond the Day of the Lord (and how near might that not be!): the present manifestation of the Spirit in individuals was but premonitory and preparatory. This eschatological attitude, with its emphasis on the returning glorified Messiah, must have overshadowed for a time any interest felt by believers at large in the actual earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth—however this may have lain treasured up in the hearts of His personal disciples.

Of points well handled in relation to this general outlook, may be mentioned the primitive Breaking of Bread<sup>1</sup> (see note to p.

<sup>1</sup> We find M'Giffert's account of the Baptism of Acts ii. 38, on the other hand, rather jejune on account of the absence of the idea of a Messianic *righteousness* to be entered on.

68), life in the Spirit, and the office of the "Seven," as to which M'Giffert has modified his view, expressed in his edition of Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* (ii. 1), in keeping with his present conviction that "the elders mentioned in various passages in the Book of Acts were not officers in any sense, and consequently are not to be connected with the Seven in any way." But nothing strikes us as more happy than his characterisation of Stephen's position, which has often been made almost to anticipate Paul's. Thus, speaking of vv. 48-50 in Stephen's great Speech, he says: "Read in the light of the context in which they occur, they cannot mean that such worship is unnecessary, but only that mere external worship is not enough"—exactly the prophetic idea of religion (*e.g.*, in Isaiah lxvi. 1, 2). Thus "he neither questioned the continued validity of the Jewish law nor suggested in any way the call of the Gentiles." And so we pass to consider the Pauline mission, observing only that, as regards the difficulty found in Peter's eating with Gentiles in Acts xi. 3, M'Giffert seems to forget that a Galilean like Peter felt less bound by the rules of Scribism than did his Jerusalem friends.

*The Christianity of Paul* is the theme of Chapter III. In it our author builds everything *from the first* upon the Pauline experience in Rom. vii., with its antithesis of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, and the corresponding solution of the problem of moral impotence by mystical union with the Christ who in His Cross had condemned sin in the *σάρξ*. "It is not so much forgiveness," writes M'Giffert, "as a new life; not so much pardon for the old, as release from it that is needed, and that is secured, according to Paul." The point is that this is represented as Paul's *first apprehension* of the new Righteousness by faith. For he speaks of "this union between himself and Christ, of which Paul became conscious at the time of his conversion." It is to be questioned whether this is even psychologically thinkable, namely, that the vision of Jesus as (not the reprobate and dead man but as) the Chosen of God and the Living One should at once suggest mystical, efficacious union with Him as the Victor over *σάρξ*. It is far easier to see how it would emerge in reflexion on actual experience of the new life of devoted trust in Him, as having offered Himself a holy sacrifice for sinful men, and "covering" with His accepted Righteousness the penitent and believing sinner. It is certainly *true to Christian experience* since then that such has been the psychological order. But is the other view true even to what we know of Paul as a Pharisee? He, too, must have shared the sense of *condemnation*, rather than impotence, before the Holy Law, for the removal of which the Apocalypses, and later Jewish literature in general, show the Pharisees to have relied upon a balance of good works over bad, reinforced too at times by the "merits of the Fathers." Of all this M'Giffert

takes but little account in his zeal to show that the righteousness of faith is not "a mere declaration of God," "not a mere status," "but is at bottom the real righteousness or the righteous nature which is bestowed upon the believer by God." One may sympathise with his belief that Paul viewed the justified man as from the first a changed man, as regenerate in spirit, and therefore in reality right with God. But this is very different from denying an aspect of imputation, a generous treating things that as yet 'are not' as though they were (as every good father does when he forgives a bad child), as that which comes first in the experience of Reconciliation for Paul as for the most Pauline Christians since. Thus it is, at least, misleading to say that with Paul the righteousness of God is "righteousness not imputed, but imparted to man; and imparted just because the divine nature or Spirit, which is itself righteous, is imparted to him." The latter consideration was an afterthought of experience, and is adduced to enforce on the justified the duty and possibility of Sanctification. To treat it otherwise is to present Paulinism out of historic perspective; and our author's otherwise able and penetrating exposition is not free from this reproach. Our difference with him will, perhaps, be less apt to be misconceived or exaggerated if we hasten to recognise how admirably his very one-sidedness as regards Paul's own experience has enabled him to bring out the meaning of 1 Cor. ii. 2 ff. in relation to the specific needs of Corinth. Its inhabitants had but little of that deep sense of guilt before God which the Law had wrought in Paul, as in Jews in general. But they did know the bondage to sin in the *σάρξ*, as few knew it. And hence it was that side of the Cross of Christ—the side in contact with existing experience—which the great Apostle turned fullest towards them, while, doubtless, not omitting the aspect which spoke to the 'conscience diseased' as it thought of the law of God "written in their hearts" (Rom. ii. 15). But this only means, as Dr A. B. Bruce, for instance, has pointed out touching the rudimentary Paulinism of the Thessalonian Epistles, that Paul was a great missionary, a physician of souls, not a professor of therapeutics, and so accommodated the emphasis of his two-sided Gospel to the needs of men as he found them.

Space forbids anything like running comment on the thirteen sections under which the *Work of Paul* is traced (pp. 151-439). But our author's view on several points raised into special prominence by Ramsay's recent work on St Paul must be indicated. He is a thorough "South Galatian," and also assigns a very early date to the Epistle to the Galatians. Only he here goes even further than Ramsay, seeing in it the earliest of Paul's extant writings, written shortly *before* his Second Missionary Journey (c. 46 A.D.).

On the other hand, he refuses to connect the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. ii. 1 ff. with that recorded in Acts xi. 30, preferring to suppose that this latter really took place at the same time as that recorded in Acts xv., but that the compiler of Acts failed to recognise their actual identity, and assigned to the Alms mission an earlier date. This, of course, gets rid of the difficulty incident to the ordinary view, according to which Paul omits to prove that he learnt nothing from the older Apostles on a visit actually made between those of Gal. i. and Gal. ii. respectively. But it is rather a counsel of despair; and Ramsay has some right to score it as a point in his favour; especially as Peter's action at Antioch still seems, after all M'Giffert has to say on the point, to follow far less naturally on a public *concordat*, like Acts xv., than on a private understanding<sup>1</sup> between leaders such as Ramsay finds in Gal. ii. 1-10.

As to Pauline Chronology, M'Giffert again goes beyond Ramsay, pushing back Paul's conversion to 31-32 (instead of 32-33), and the Council at Jerusalem to 45-46 (in place of 49-50), both reckoning the fourteen years of Gal. ii. 1 from Paul's conversion, not from his first visit to Jerusalem. Further, like Harnack in his *Chronologie*, he ante-dates the usual period of Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea by four or five years, making Festus succeed Felix in 55, and Paul reach Rome in the spring of 56. Then, finally, he leaves both his friends, and, denying any release from the Roman imprisonment, places Paul's death in 58. This enables him to explain the greater impression left on the Roman Church by Peter, to whom he is thus able to allow a sojourn of several years in the capital between 58-64. This last point is very interesting, and it must be allowed that the case stated against Release and Second Arrest is very strong indeed.<sup>2</sup> But it is inconsistent with the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles in their present form—a conclusion to which M'Giffert is led on several grounds which he sets forth with force and candour. His discussion of these documents is probably the fullest and most persuasive to be found in English, and its *prima facie* cogency at least is much enhanced by his recognition of genuine Pauline letters as utilised in them all—largely in 2 Tim., less so in Titus, and least in 1 Tim. But his argument must be read as a whole to be duly appreciated. With these deductions, he accepts all the Pauline Epistles as genuine, but would

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that Weizsäcker feels bound, in deference to Gal. ii. 6-10, to recognize such a private Apostolic Treaty, distinct from the public Conference which he sees in Gal. ii. 3-5, and echoed in Acts xv.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever be made of the phrase *τὸ τόπος τῆς δόσεως* as found in the MSS. of 1 Clem. 5, it seems clear that it cannot support a journey to Spain, since it must also represent the place of Paul's trial and death.

add to their number by reckoning Rom. xvi. 1-23 as an ἐπιστολὴ συστατικὴ sent to Ephesus (see Sanday and Headlam for much epigraphic evidence on the other side, which is here rather overlooked), 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1 as part of the lost letter referred to in 1 Cor. v. 10, and 2 Cor. x.-xiii. as originally a letter following on Paul's unrecorded visit to Corinth between 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. He agrees with most foreign scholars against Lightfoot in treating Philippians as the last, not the first, of the Roman group to which it belongs.

With Chapter V. we pass to *The Christianity of the Church at large*. Here he first calls attention to the legal rather than Pauline cast of Gentile Christianity outside Paul's immediate circles of friends, and after his death universally; analyses the meaning of this fact; and indicates the distinctive notes of this "common conception of the Gospel," which he traces in some of the later N.T. writings and generally in the Apostolic Fathers and thereafter. Of this New Legalism, which makes Salvation turn on obedience to a new and higher revealed Law,<sup>1</sup> he finds several distinct types in the N.T., namely, that of the Epistle of James (by some Hellenistic Christian, prior to 100 A.D.), of Hebrews (a practical λόγος παρακλήσεως by an "Alexandrine" Hellenist, such as Apollos, and addressed probably to the Roman Church in the earlier days of the trials under Domitian), and of 1 Peter, viewed as the most Pauline of non-Pauline writings, dating c. 81-90, and possibly by Barnabas. While we do not think his diagnosis of the situation implied by James at all successful, one is bound to admire the grasp shown of that suggested in Hebrews, and to refer students of that wonderful epistle to the twenty brilliant pages in which it is examined. But neither the date nor the authorship assigned to 1 Peter seems to us even plausible; rather the notion of its being the work of an octogenarian or nonagenarian strikes one as quite unlikely. Finally, in this connection it should be added that M'Giffert states that he regards 2 Peter as "the only really pseudonymous work in the New Testament," because alone containing its false ascription in its original substance. This means, of course, that he does not consider the Apocalypse to claim apostolic authorship, but only to be the work of some Christian prophet of the name of John, possibly the Presbyter John (possible author also of 2 John and 3 John). As to 1 John and the Fourth Gospel, our author does not see his way to decide between the Apostle John and one of his disciples.

We have had to omit reference to several sections, such as those devoted to "The Radical Paulinism of the Gnostics and Other

<sup>1</sup> It conceived, says our author, the Christian life as 'man's own life governed by a divine law'; whereas, with Paul, it is 'the divine life in man.'



Sectaries" (implied in the Pastorals, Apocalypse, 1 John and Jude) and "The Christian Life"—an able chapter, which does full justice to the place of spiritual gifts and the recognition of the Holy Spirit among primitive Christians; and the bulk of Chapter VI., entitled *The Developing Church*. This latter includes "James and the Church of Jerusalem," "Peter and the Church of Rome," "John and the Church of Asia," "The Church and the Empire," "The Unity of the Church," "The Developing Organisation"; and all supply plentiful food for thought. But enough, it is hoped, has been said to send scholars to peruse this work, which, as the production of a man still young, must be pronounced wonderfully learned and mature, and is in any case not only the fullest but the most impartial, many-sided, and stimulating book on the subject in the English language.

VERNON BARTLET.

### Notices.

IN his *Christian Life in Germany, as seen in the State and the Church*,<sup>1</sup> Dr Edward F. Williams gives his view of the present condition and the probable future of the Protestant Churches of the Fatherland. After a general survey of Germany as a Christian nation, he proceeds to state the results of his inquiries into the intellectual training of the people, their moral and religious life, the social and industrial movements of the time, the influences which have served to stimulate or to modify the Christian life, the place held by Foreign Missions, the history and methods of the Inner Mission, the measures adopted for the preservation of those in danger, the care of defectives and the sick, the saving of the lost, the circulation of Christian literature, the meeting of the social needs of the people. The book closes with three interesting chapters explaining the special forces used for the work of the Inner Mission, the social and moral condition of Germany since 1860, and the efforts and measures by which the new dangers of the times are to be met. The volume is an opportune one. It is full of matter, carefully collected and sifted by the author himself. The estimates which it makes of some of the elements at work in German society at present will no doubt be differently regarded by different individuals. But the book is one of value, well worth serious reading. Its final conclusion is that the Church is the only real ground of hope.

The Master of Marlborough College writes to good purpose on the important subject of *Religious Teaching in Secondary Schools*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price, 4s.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. George C. Bell, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1897. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 181. Price, 3s. 6d.

His object is not an ambitious one. It is to give suggestions such as his own experience offers to teachers and parents for "Lessons on the Old and New Testaments, Early Church History, the Evidences, &c." This is effectively done, and there is quite a place for a book of this kind. Many of those who are engaged in the work of secondary schools must find it difficult to know what to attempt in the way of discharging their duty as instructors of the young in religion. The counsels offered here will be in present circumstances of real use to them. One of the writer's chief objects is to make it plain to such teachers that "the intelligent study of the Bible is much helped by knowledge of facts about its historical development." His remarks on the attitude most proper on the part of our instructors of youth to what criticism and historical inquiry have to say on the various books of the Bible will be read with interest. The whole question of the kind and measure of religious instruction in this class of school is dealt with in a frank, courageous, and discreet spirit.

The *Epistle to the Philippians*<sup>1</sup> is very well handled by the Principal of Ridley Hall in the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges*. The notes on the Greek text are concise, and give the essence of scholarly inquiry. The Introduction discusses in a clear and interesting way all that the student needs as a preparation for the intelligent study of the Epistle. We notice among other things the criticism of Meyer's contention that Caesarea was the place of writing, and the examination of his arguments in favour of the late date for the Epistle. In these matters Dr Moule follows Lightfoot in the main. He dates the Epistle late in 61, or early in 62. From the same hand we have another volume on the same Epistle under the title of *Philippian Studies*.<sup>2</sup> In this volume Dr Moule writes entirely for edification, giving a series of "Lessons on Faith and Love." These are excellent chapters, based on exact exegesis, practical in their scope, and earnest in spirit. They deal with such subjects as the *Intimacy of Human Hearts in Christ* (I. 1-11); the *Apostle's Position and Character* (I. 12-20); the *Christian's Peace and the Christian's Consistency* (I. 21-30), *Unity or Self-Forgetfulness* (II., 1-11), etc.

The author of *Christian Instincts and Modern Doubt*<sup>3</sup> writes with much self-confidence. From some things in it one might infer

<sup>1</sup> With Introduction and Notes by the Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. xl. 116. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Essays and Addresses in aid of a reasonable, satisfying and consolatory Religion. By Alexander H. Crauford, M.A., formerly Exhibitioner of Oriel College, Oxford. London: James Clark & Co, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 356. Price, 6s.

that in the writer's own esteem his work is the first that has frankly faced the case as it really stands, and the first that has aimed at giving "some real and adequate guidance to honest inquirers." There have been, however, some brave and honest men, we believe, even before this great Agamemnon, and it is not impossible that Mr Crauford may be taken by others at a different estimate from his own. His book is one that provokes the reader, and sometimes makes him indignant. He is not above expressing spiteful opinions, the creatures of ignorance and prejudice, on men whose shoe's latchet he is not worthy to unloose, if they happen not to go with him in ecclesiastical politics. He speaks of Churches other than his own in a style that makes one feel how very condescending it is of him to notice them at all. He writes as if the relief of doubt and the survival of religion depended on the maintenance of a State Church. One feels aggrieved that by things like these, and by a certain jauntiness of discussion, he takes the edge from what is well put in his book. For the book is far from wanting clever paragraphs, and things of a better kind than these. And if Mr Crauford would look more to the spirit of religion, and practise a little modesty, and try to believe that there may be some sincerity and piety in those who do not quite think with him on certain subjects, he may yet write something that will "give some real and adequate guidance to honest inquirers."

Mr Jeffrey's volume on *The Personal Ministry of the Son of Man*<sup>1</sup> consists of a series of "studies on the Saviour's application of His own teaching." The idea is a good one. It is to take advantage of the deep and gratifying interest in our Lord's own teaching which is so largely exhibited at present, and direct attention particularly to the method of the teaching. Typical examples of this method are selected for detailed exposition,—Jesus and the Baptist, Jesus and the Scribes, Jesus and the Samaritan, Jesus and the Roman, Jesus and the Greeks, etc.,—with the view of showing how Christ applied His teaching to individual cases of very different kinds. The idea is very well carried out. There are twenty-four separate studies, reverent in spirit, unpretentious in style, and exhibiting in an interesting and edifying way our Lord's way of dealing with different kinds of characters. The volume is a manly and healthy one.

Dr John Kinross, Principal of St Andrew's College, University of Sydney, writes on *Dogma in Religion and Creeds in the Church*.<sup>2</sup> His object is to "show that undue importance has been attached to the

<sup>1</sup> By the Rev. James Jeffrey, M.A., of Trinity United Presbyterian Church, Pollokshields. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: James Thin, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 342. Price, 5s.

dogmas of the Church, and that a firm belief in their precise statements is not absolutely necessary to the highest type of Christian living." So far as this goes, Dr Kinross will find few or none to contest his position, and his statements on the subject are well put. At times, however, he permits himself to be carried considerably beyond this, and to say things which make one question whether he sufficiently allows for the element of doctrine in Christianity and in the Christian life, or for the inevitable action of the Christian mind in thinking out and stating the contents of its faith. But there is a strong and healthy tone in the book. It says much that is to the purpose on the exaggerations into which all Churches have been apt to fall, and on the tendency which has always been at work to go beyond the New Testament and make more of the forms, intellectual and ceremonial, of the faith. In all, too, that Dr Kinross says with the view of commending a simpler and more catholic Church life, and removing obstacles to Christian unity, he has our hearty sympathy.

We have received the first and second parts of the XVIth. year of the invaluable *Jahresbericht*,<sup>1</sup> containing the literature for 1896 in the departments of Old and New Testament Exegesis and Historical Theology; *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version, with a discussion of the value of the Codex Ambrosianus*,<sup>2</sup> a work of great scholarly value, appropriately dedicated to the pious memory of Brian Walton, carrying on the work of Herbert Thorndike in the London Polyglott of 1657, furnished with all that could be desired in the way of Introduction, and laying all Syriac Scholars under great obligations by its careful use of the various MSS. which have been brought to light since Thorndike's time—MSS. of the sixth, ninth, and twelfth centuries, and therefore much older than those used for the Polyglott; *Disunion and Reunion*,<sup>3</sup> a series of popular addresses, written in a very free and easy style, in which we get the pronounced Roman Catholic view of the causes that led to "the disruption of Christendom," first by the Greek Schism, and then by the Protestant Reformation, and in which page after

<sup>1</sup> Theologischer Jahresbericht. Hrsg. von Dr H. Holtzmann u. Dr G. Krüger. Sechszehnter Band. Enthaltend die Literatur des Jahres 1896. Braunschweig, Schwetschke u. Sohn. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. Erste Abtheilung; Exegese. Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann. 8vo, pp. 156. Price M.6. Zweite Abtheilung; Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Krüger, Fricker, Lösche, Hegler, Kohl-Schmidt u. Furrer. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, M.7.

<sup>2</sup> By W. E. Barnes, D.D., Fellow of Peterhouse. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xxxiv. 63. Price, 5s.

<sup>3</sup> By W. F. Madden, sometime Rector R.C. Cathedral, Auckland. London: Burns & Oates. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 178. Price, 3s.

page we come upon the most innocent explanations of great movements, as when the Scottish Reformation finds its first reason in the fact that "Knox was the replica of Wishart . . . and these two distortions of our better nature loved each other—as distortions sometimes do;" a good German translation of Dr Charles M. Douglas's excellent treatise on *John Stuart Mill*<sup>1</sup>; a pamphlet by the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., on *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium*,<sup>2</sup> giving a clear, learned, and decided statement of the doctrine of the Anglican formularies on the subject of the priesthood and the Sacrament as unmistakably Protestant and entirely opposed to the theory of a sacrificing ministry, and not hesitating to express the opinion that the recent reply of the Anglican Archbishops to the Pope's Bull on English Orders does not take so "well-defined a position. . . . as would have been taken by our Reformers in the sixteenth century, or by our great divines in the seventeenth"; a Series of Addresses, under the general title of *The Great Example*,<sup>3</sup> devotional in form and in design, meant in the first instance for the help of Candidates for Holy Orders during the days immediately preceding their ordination, and dealing in a devout and practical way with the Church's ministry in its various aspects, as the ministry of the *Man*, the *King*, the *Priest*, and the *Seer*; a collection of readings for each week of the year, under the title of *Creed and Conduct*,<sup>4</sup> selected and arranged by the Rev. George Coates, from the writings of Dr Alexander McLaren, of Manchester—a choice book, full of the best thoughts of one of the greatest, most devout, and most sustained of preachers; *A Man's Value to Society*,<sup>5</sup> which is the name given to a series of "Studies in Self-Culture and Character," by Newell Wright Hillis, interesting to read, containing many just, suggestive and pleasantly expressed observations on the materials and basis of character, the moral uses of memory, the enthusiasm of friendship, and kindred subjects, and enforcing individual worth as the genius of Christianity; Mr Joseph Bryant Rotherham's new translation of the Bible, under the title of *The Emphasised Bible*,<sup>6</sup> a well-meant effort, somewhat confusing by the number of things it aims at and the multitude of signs it employs,

<sup>1</sup> Autorisierte deutsche Übersetzung. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 205. Price, M.3.60.

<sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 55. Price, 1s. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> By George Henry Somerset Walpole, D.D., Principal of Bede College, Durham. London: Longmans, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 246. Price, 5s.

<sup>4</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 384. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 327. Price, 5s.

<sup>6</sup> New Testament, Part I.: Matthew—Luke, vii. 22. London: Allenson, 1897. 4to, pp. 64. Price, 2s.



to bring the English reader nearer the exact meaning, the style, and the aim of the sacred writers; a third and revised edition of Dr Newman Hall's useful and much appreciated practical study of *The Lord's Prayer*;<sup>1</sup> a volume of *Words of Counsel*,<sup>2</sup> by J. B. Pearson, LL.D., D.D., late Vicar of Leck, and formerly Bishop of Newcastle, N.S.W., consisting of a series of extracts from great English writers, and from the late Vicar's own sermons, admirably arranged by Mrs Pearson, and well chosen for the purpose of helps to thought and life; a very interesting volume on *The Early History of the Scottish Union Question*,<sup>3</sup> furnishing much curious and instructive information on the various attempts made from the time of Edward First of England to that of William III., to unite England and Scotland, and giving a vivid picture of the good and the evil, the generous aims and the jealousies, which were at work in these movements; a volume on *The Teaching Function of the Modern Pulpit*,<sup>4</sup> an able statement of the glory of one of the chief offices of the Christian ministry, and a strong plea for its better discharge; an *Explanatory Analysis of St Paul's First Epistle to Timothy*,<sup>5</sup> drawn up with the most praiseworthy care by the late Canon Liddon for the use of his pupils, giving evidence on every page of laborious study, and furnishing, in addition to the elaborate representation of the argument, scholarly and most useful notes on the main points of the exegesis—a volume well worthy of the Canon's reputation; the sixth charge of the Archdeacon of London, in which, under the title of *The Ancient British Churches*,<sup>6</sup> he gives a rapid outline of the history of the introduction of the Christian religion into the British, Irish, Welsh, and Scotie Churches, with the chief developments and changes through which the new faith passed in the early ages; a lecture by Professor Charteris, D.D., of the University of Edinburgh, on *The Present State of Biblical Criticism as regards the New Testament*,<sup>7</sup> a succinct, able, and timely digest of the critical literature of recent years, with a careful and candid estimate of the attack and the defence, and a statement of the result as generally and unmistakably in the

<sup>1</sup> A Practical Meditation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 336. Price, 4s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> With Preface by the Bishop of Manchester. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 101.

<sup>3</sup> By G. W. T. Omond. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 194. Price, 2s. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> By James Lindsay, M.A., B.D., B.Sc. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price, 1s.

<sup>5</sup> London: Longmans. 1897. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> By the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London: Elliot Stock, 1897. 8vo, pp. 64. Price, 1s.

<sup>7</sup> Edinburgh: James Thin, 1897. 8vo, pp. 24.

direction of giving the New Testament a "surer place in critical estimate"; a painstaking examination of the question of the speaking subject in the *Psalms*,<sup>1</sup> by Dr George Beer, in which the result is reached that the Psalms fall into three groups, viz., Church Psalms, in which the speaker is, more or less, the Church (2, 9-10, 18(?), 20, 21, 24, 28, 29, 33, 36, 42-48, 54-61, 63-68, 72, 74-87, 88(?), 89, 90, 93-100, 103, 105-108, 110, 113-115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123-126, 129-138, 140, 141, 143, 145-150); second, individual Psalms, viz. :—1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15-17(?), 19, 23, 26, 27, 30, 32, 37, 39, 41, 49, 50, 52, 62, 73, 91, 92, 101, 104, 109, 111, 112, 116, 119, 122, 127, 128, 139, 142, 144; and thirdly, an intermediate group, in which the subject is the *עַבְדְּךָ*, viz. :—5, 7, 12, 14 (53), 22, 25, 31, 32 (?), 34, 38, 40, 51, 69-71, 102 (?), 109 (?).

We owe much to Mr R. H. Charles for his labours in the curious field of the old pseudepigraphic literature. He has laid us under fresh obligations by the preparation of an edition of *The Assumption of Moses*<sup>2</sup> in every way worthy of his well-known scholarship. In many respects this edition surpasses all else that has been done for this interesting relic of Jewish thought. It provides a complete and exact exegesis of the text. It gives a critical treatment of the Latin text, which differs from most others in bringing out the Semitic background. It furnishes a translation from the Latin sixth century MS., and an introduction in which the literary and critical questions and the whole history of the writing are handled with ample knowledge and unfailing discernment. The view which Mr Charles takes of the book is that it was in all probability a composite work, consisting originally of two parts, one being the *Testament of Moses*, the other the *Assumption*; that the former was written in Hebrew between 7 and 20 A.D., and "possibly also the latter"; that a Greek version was produced in the first century of our era, which was translated into Latin by the fifth century at latest; and that the *Assumption* was the work of a Pharisaic Quietist, whose object was to protest against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party, and bring their old ideals before them anew. Mr Charles's arguments in support of these positions have great weight.

Dr William P. Du Bose, the author of *The Soteriology of the New Testament*, contributes to the series of *Eras of the Christian*

<sup>1</sup> Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters. Marburg: Elwert, 1894. Cr. 8vo, pp. li. 92. Price, M.4.

<sup>2</sup> Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. London: A. and C. Black, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxv. 117. Price, 7s. 6d.

*Church* a volume on *The Ecumenical Councils*.<sup>1</sup> The book, which is already in its second edition in America, is written on a somewhat different plan from that followed by others in the series. It is less a historical than a critical and doctrinal study. An introduction of some fifty pages gives the main course of events, and is sufficiently well done. This, however, is by another hand—that of Dr T. F. Gailor, Bishop-Coadjutor of Tennessee. The volume itself consists of a number of Chapters which treat in succession of the Christology of the New Testament and the natural basis for a Scriptural and Catholic Christology, the leading heresies, and the great Councils. The value of the book lies in the view it gives of the course of dogmatic thought and definition. The main forms of teaching which the Church came to reject as heretical are described and criticised in a fair spirit, with a due sense of their relations to other modes of thought. This is especially the case with what is said of Arianism, Sabellianism, and Apollinarianism. The review of the dogmatic movements in the Councils and the positions of the different parties, the statement of the difficulties with the technical terms, and the general defence of the ecclesiastical conclusions, are done with much ability. The book closes with an interesting chapter on *The Christological Goal*, in which the Kenotic and other modern theories are rapidly outlined, and the importance of the distinction between spiritual and physical natures, both in God and in man, is insisted on. The result is stated thus—"Our incarnate Lord then is personal Godhead and personal manhood in the unity and totality of that spiritual nature in which it is their constitution and predestination to become one. But physically or naturally, Godhead and manhood do not become one and the same in Him."

Sir William Muir republishes a number of Essays, four of which were contributed originally to the *Calcutta Review*.<sup>2</sup> These four go back to the years 1845, 1850, 1852, 1868. A fifth is added, of a different kind, and of more recent date, 1887, dealing with the *Freer and more varied use of the Psalms in our Churches*. The Indian Articles deal with subjects on which the Principal of the University of Edinburgh is well entitled to speak—the Mohammedan Controversy, the Biographies of Mohammed, Sprenger on Tradition, and the Indian Liturgy. These Essays are full of valuable matter. They will be read anew with pleasure by those who are familiar with them in their old form. They will have much interest for those who make acquaintance with them for the first time.

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 355. Price, 6s.

<sup>2</sup> The Mohammedan Controversy and other articles. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. 8vo, pp. x. 220. Price, 7s. 6d.

Some papers contributed by Professor J. S. Banks to various periodicals during the last five years are collected under the general title of *The Tendencies of Modern Thought*.<sup>1</sup> The volume gives a rapid review and criticism of the leading forms of Theistic and Christian speculation. It shows wide and discriminating acquaintance with the works of men belonging to very different schools, and with the main currents of religious thought. One of the best chapters is given to a statement and examination of the Ritschlian system. The accounts offered of the various discussions on the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, and the Atonement, are well worth reading. They are generally correct. They contain many just criticisms, and carry every opinion back to the testimony of Scripture, according to the methods of a true exegesis. The Essays are worthy of republication. They make a useful guide to a large literature.

Atzberger's *Geschichte der christlichen Eschatologie*<sup>2</sup> is a contribution of distinct value to an important subject. It is written from the Roman Catholic point of view, but with general fairness as well as with large command of the literature. The present volume covers the pre-Nicene period. It gives informing digests of opinion, and a clear presentation of the course of thought and definition on the things of the end. Much space is given to Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and Clement. But the views of the Apologists and of authorities like Hippolytus, Minucius Felix, Novatian, Commodian, Victorinus, and Arnobius, also have their place, and are dealt with indeed more fully than is usually the case with them in such books. The best chapter perhaps is the one on Cyprian. The volume, as a whole, is a distinct and valuable addition to our books on *Dogmengeschichte*. It follows up in a worthy way the author's volume—"*Die christliche Eschatologie in den Stadien ihrer Offenbarung im Alten und Neuen Testamente*."

Mr Powell's book on *The Principle of the Incarnation*<sup>3</sup> deals with its great subject with special reference to the "relation between our Lord's Divine Omniscience and His human Consciousness." It is in effect, therefore, an examination of the Kenotic doctrine, and of that chiefly in one important application. The preparation of the volume was prompted by the publication of *Lux Mundi* and the effect it had on public opinion. The original

<sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 269. Price, 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Mit theilweiser Einbeziehung der Lehre vom christlichen Heile überhaupt. Von Dr Leonhard Atzberger, o. ö. Professor der Dogmatik und Universitätsprediger in München. Freib. i. B.: Herder; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xii. 646. Price, M.9.

<sup>3</sup> By H. C. Powell, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, etc. London: Longmans, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxxi. 483. Price, 16s.

idea was to meet the "agitations and perplexities" occasioned by the Essay on "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," by publishing a collection of the opinions of the Fathers on our Lord's Sayings respecting the Day and Hour of the Final Judgment. But when the Bampton Lectures of 1891 appeared, it was seen that more was required, and so the scope of the book was extended to embrace the whole question of the relations between our Lord's Human and Divine Natures, especially those between His Divine Consciousness and His Human, in its dogmatic aspect as well as its historical.

The book deserves the credit of a reverent, patient, and painstaking study of these great themes. Its author has read widely, and has been able to present the results of his studies in a useful form. But he cannot be said to have been equally successful in the doctrinal section of his task as in the historical. The summaries of Patristic teaching are by much the better portion of the book. They are very carefully done, and will be a welcome aid to the student. But the treatment of the doctrinal question is deficient in independence, courage, and insight. The author's thinking power seems to be held in check by excess of deference to tradition and the Church. The Christology which he follows is one that does not come to the quick of the question, and has no proper place for a real growth, mental and spiritual as well as physical, in Christ. It pronounces the supposition of anything like "ignorance," or, as it should better be called, "nescience," on the part of our Lord to be inadmissible, and explains the various passages in the Gospels which appear to imply that, and which show Him putting real questions with a view to obtaining actual information, in the artificial way familiar enough in the Patristic writings, which in point of fact presents our Lord in an attitude much less worthy of the real dignity of His Person than anything involved in such frank recognition of the limitations of His knowledge as keeps within the bounds of the representation of His mind and His words which is given in the Gospels. No one will read this large and laborious treatise without a sincere respect for the author or without finding much profitable matter. But it makes no contribution to the solution of the Christological problem itself. In this respect it is much inferior to the Bishop Paddock Lectures on *The Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Mason's book is a pleasure to read, both for its style and for its insight. There are some things he deals with to which objection must be taken. There is a surprising statement on Calvin, for instance, in the Introductory Lecture (pp. 14, 15), which is little in accord with his known eminence as an interpreter. If any one of the good men of old was less open to the charge of "arbitrary" dealing with

<sup>1</sup> By Arthur James Mason, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Longmans, 1896. Crown 8vo, pp. xxii. 194. Price 5s.



Scripture than others, or more conspicuous for historical and grammatical method, it was surely Calvin. But that is only by the way. Professor Mason follows the proper plan of starting not with any preconceived idea of what human nature must have been in Christ, nor with any ecclesiastical decision, but with a survey of the actual data presented by the Gospels, leaving each particular theory to be brought to the test of the results of that investigation. He adheres throughout his argument with great faithfulness to the strictly historical method of studying Christ's life on earth, examining in succession all the indications presented by the Gospels of development in His moral character as Man, and the various incidents and words which throw light upon the measure of power and knowledge actually possessed by Him on earth. This is done with full appreciation of the historical circumstances. Nothing could be better than the exposition which is given here of those occasions which shut us up to a choice between a frank admission that on some things Christ's knowledge on earth had its limits and the ascription to Him of a certain feigned attitude. An equally careful account is given of the facts which imply a certain transcendence in His knowledge. The results reached by Professor Mason are very different from Mr Powell's, and in general harmony with Canon Gore's. The book is a valuable and most readable addition to English Christology.

Some years ago Bishop Westcott contributed a series of articles on the Revised Version of the New Testament to the *Expositor*. These are now reprinted in book form with the title *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*.<sup>1</sup> The volume is the best defence yet published of the Revisers' procedure, especially in the minuter changes which they felt it necessary to introduce. It is a defence of the Revision, not only in its more outstanding features, but in its finer renderings of tenses, particles, the article, and the like. At most points it is a successful defence. It has the additional merit of showing in a clear and convincing way, and by reference to individual instances, how much is gained through these minuter changes which have been oftenest assailed—how the colouring of many a narrative has been better given, and how much light has been shed on important aspects of Christian life and doctrine as presented in the Gospels.

It is gratifying to see that Dr. Mayor's Commentary on the *Epistle of St James* <sup>2</sup> is in a second edition. It is a book of large

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 239. Price, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> The Epistle of St James. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes and Comments. By Joseph B. Mayor, Litt.D. Dubl; Emeritus Professor of King's College, London; Honorary Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge: Second Edition. London: Macmillan, 1897. 8vo, pp. cclx. 256. Price, 14s. net.

learning and vigorous sense—the most important contribution made to the study of this Epistle for many a year. It may fairly be called exhaustive in its treatment of its subject, every question of interest in the literary and historical criticism of the Epistle, as well as all the details of the exegesis, being handled with a fulness and a penetration which leave little or nothing to be desired. We have already spoken of the merits of the book. This second edition has been carefully revised. It has also been considerably enlarged. The enlargement is occupied mainly by an examination of the theories of Harnack and Spitta, the substance of which was recently given in the *Expositor*. This examination is both acute and thorough. To most minds it will appear, we believe, that Dr. Mayor has made out a better case than either Harnack or Spitta.

The eighth volume of the *Expository Times*<sup>1</sup> is to hand. The magazine has established itself long since in the good opinion of the public, and is read with acceptance in many a Parsonage and Manse. It continues to offer, month by month, things of varied interest and practical use for the working clergyman. The Editor's Notes in this volume are as seasonable and attractive as ever. They have the art of recognising the occasion and introducing the reader to the topics of most immediate interest for the month. Besides many briefer and more popular papers, there are always some articles of larger compass which will bear more than one perusal. In the present volume we have a series of articles by Professor C. A. Briggs of New York on *The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah*; estimates of men like Jean Astruc, Dean Burgon, and Dr Frederick Field; informing surveys of Foreign Theology by the Rev. J. A. Selbie; and valuable papers on their favourite subjects by men like Canon Driver, Dr A. B. Davidson, Dr C. A. Briggs, Professor Findlay, Professor Nestle, and many more.

The English translation of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* makes satisfactory progress. The second volume,<sup>2</sup> which has been by no means an easy task, begins with a historical survey, exhibiting the process by which Christianity took the fixed form of an ecclesiastical organisation and hereby became, as Professor Harnack endeavours to show at length, in increasing measure, a secularised system. It then proceeds to give accounts of the setting up of the particular standards of ecclesiastical Christianity, the relations of this Christianity to philosophy, the beginnings of an ecclesiastico-

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Pp. 568. Price, 7s 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Translated from the Third German edition, by Neil Buchanan. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896, 8vo, pp. vii. 380. Price, 10s. 6d.  
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theological interpretation, the revision of the Rule of Faith, the transformation of the ecclesiastical tradition into a Philosophy of Religion, and kindred subjects. Among the sections which show Professor Harnack at his best in his particular reading of the course of things we may instance the one in which he contrasts the old Christianity with the new. This volume also contains Harnack's treatment of the genesis of the New Testament, Cyprian's idea of the Church, the doctrine of the Logos, the theological position and teaching of Tertullian, Origen, and others. The discussion of the last-named is of particular interest. Professor Harnack's estimate of the great Alexandrian, his system of thought, and the importance of his theology for the following period, is one of the most characteristic studies in the book. It gives us large and fertile ideas, and contains much that requires and repays consideration. We are glad to see that the third volume is also finished.

The fifth volume of the fifth series of *The Expositor*<sup>1</sup> provides a series of papers by Professor J. Agar Beet on *Christian Perfection*, notes by Professor Cheyne on *Some Obscure Passages in the Prophets*, studies by the late Dr Dale of Birmingham, meditations by Dr G. Matheson of Edinburgh, and articles by Principal Fairbairn on *Christ's Attitude to His Own Death*, Professor Nöldeke on *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus*, Professor Ramsay on *The Pauline Chronology* and on *The Census of Quirinius*, and other well-known contributors. Not a few of these papers are of permanent value. All make interesting and profitable reading. Under the experienced editorship of Dr Robertson Nicoll, *The Expositor* continues to offer month by month a rich variety of contributions, and to acquaint its readers with what is freshest and most important in its own particular class of subjects. The present volume well maintains the high standard which *The Expositor* has always kept before it.

The second volume of the new edition of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*<sup>2</sup> is now completed. It embraces the religions of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans and Kelts. Specialists in the study of the several religions have brought the account of each of the systems up to date. In the present volume much is due to Dr Lehman of Copenhagen. In him, and in scholars like Dr J. J. Valetton, junior, of Utrecht, Dr F. Jeremias of Leipsic, Dr E. Buckley of Chicago, Bibliothekar H. O. Lange of Copenhagen, and Professor Houtsma of Utrecht, the general editor has found efficient collaborateurs in the preparation of these two volumes.

<sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> Zweite völlig neu gearbeitete Auflage. Freib. i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 512. Price, M.12.

The master-hand in all, however, is Professor de la Saussaye's own. The whole conception of the undertaking has been his, its plan has been worked out by him, and the contributions by special hands have passed under his careful eye. Few scholars possess such qualifications as Professor de la Saussaye can claim for the large and difficult task of giving a general survey of the religions of the world. In this revised form, which makes the work practically a new one, the Manual is the best book of its kind. It is the kind of book which the working student desires to have beside him, and one which he will feel he can follow as a trustworthy guide. It is also one of the most important and seasonable contributions to the valuable series, the *Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher*, which we owe to the enterprise of the well-known Freiburg firm.

Among the New Testament scholars of the last half century there have been few to match the late Dean Burgon in the rigidity of his conservatism. He had inveterate prejudices. He used strong language. His hostility to the great Textual Critics was passionate and uncompromising. His assaults on the Revisers and all their works were boisterous, and his judgments of men and causes were often eccentric. He is apt to be remembered only for these things. But they were only the other side of an intense zeal for the honour of the sacred text, and there are many things for which he deserves to be held in respectful and grateful memory. He was an indefatigable worker in fields of inquiry that are peculiarly taxing. Much of his effort was misdirected when he came to deal with the text itself of the New Testament. But in collecting material, examining and collecting manuscripts, and ransacking the Fathers for New Testament quotations, he did a service which it would be unbecoming to forget. All the work of that kind of which he has made us heirs should be welcome. We are glad, therefore, to get two posthumous volumes, which give us his views of the *Traditional Text*,<sup>1</sup> and his theory of its *Corruption*.<sup>2</sup>

For more than thirty years the Dean toiled at the preparations for a great task, which he had to leave unfinished. How vast was the mass of material which he had amassed in that period may be judged by the fact that some forty portfolios of papers were put into the hands of his editor. How to make the best use of this

<sup>1</sup> The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels vindicated and established by the late John William Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. Arranged, completed, and edited by Edward Miller, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 317. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> The Causes of the Corruption in the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels. By the late John William Burgon, B.D., Dean of Chichester. Arranged, completed, and edited by Edward Miller, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons, 1896. Demy 8vo, pp. xiv. 290. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

enormous collection of matter was a question of no ordinary difficulty. It has been solved discreetly by Mr Miller, himself a laborious worker in the Dean's favourite fields, in accordance with the Dean's ideas, and, if possible, even more conservative. In his heavy task the editor has had the assistance of Dr Waller and the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam. This has been a great help, especially in all that relates to the Syriac texts and authorities. Of the two volumes the second is more exclusively the Dean's own. The first contains more of the editor's work, and it is sometimes not easy to say where the Dean ends and Mr Miller begins.

There is much useful matter of a circumstantial kind in these volumes. There are statements of fact, notes of collations, comparisons of authorities, which we are glad to have. There are also disquisitions on particular documents and readings which will be read with interest and profit, even when they call forth dissent. But the value of the volumes terminates there. They do not grasp the scientific problem. They do not indicate even any adequate comprehension of the principles and methods of Westcott and Hort. They have the unpleasant habit of hurling disagreeable epithets at the men and the authorities they have to oppose. The critical text is the "neological" text. The Lewis Codex is "heretical." The great MSS.  $\aleph$  and B are the most corrupt and depraved of all MSS. Their text is "licentious." The attention given them, in spite of Scrivener's appreciation, is a "superstition," &c., &c. The "traditional" text, the text represented in the mass of documents, is the text to be preferred. It is, though not in all points, substantially the *Textus Receptus*, and how precipitately that text was printed by Erasmus and on evidence how slender and how late, needs not be said. The ultimate test with Messrs Burgon and Miller, however things may be put by them, comes to be that of numbers or that of subjective preference. The genealogical method seems not to be properly understood. It certainly is not properly represented in these volumes. Neither is the necessity sufficiently recognised of examining the history and character of the witnesses in order to a proper estimate of their testimony. Again and again, too, things are said in these volumes which make it appear as if questions of readings were questions of "Churchmanship" and ecclesiastical authority or tradition. An excellent idea of some of the main differences between Dean Burgon's methods and that of the Critical School is given in the published Report of the Oxford Meeting on Textual Criticism.<sup>1</sup>

The revision of Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar* is being carried out with remarkable dispatch, and with a thoroughness no

<sup>1</sup> The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. George Bell. Price, 4s. 6d.



less remarkable. The great commentary, which has been so large a boon to all exact students of the New Testament, and to which all subsequent commentaries on the New Testament writings of any merit have been so deeply indebted, continues to keep its place in public favour. Edition succeeds edition in quick succession, and the most scholarly hands are engaged in the work of bringing its several sections steadily up to date. Its great and continued success is a most pleasing witness to the growing appreciation of scientific exegesis. Professor Heinrici's re-working of *First Corinthians* is a book that can be dispensed with by no student of this great Epistle. Not less important is Professor Bousset's<sup>1</sup> recasting of Dürstiedt on the *Revelation of John*,<sup>2</sup> in which the materials furnished by ancient myth and the pseudepigraphic literature are applied with great skill and learning, if not without occasional exaggeration, to the interpretation of this most difficult section of the New Testament. These have been followed in the present year by three further instalments of the revised issue. The sixth edition of the Commentary on *Hebrews*,<sup>3</sup> the sixth edition also of the section on the *Epistles of Peter and Jude*,<sup>4</sup> and the sixth and seventh editions of the volume on the *Epistles of the Captivity*,<sup>5</sup> have appeared under the editorial supervision of Professors Weiss, Kühl, and Haupt respectively. The change made on the original "Meyer" differs considerably in degree in these volumes. In some cases greater liberty is taken than may seem reasonable. But the revision in each case brings the exegesis up to the most recent date, and works in the results of the best that has been published, in larger or smaller form, in articles as well as in books, since the previous issue.

The publication of Messrs Grenfell & Hunt's account of their discovery at Oxyrhynchus and the view which they have formed of the interesting papyrus fragment, published under the title of *Λογία*

<sup>1</sup>Der erste Brief an die Korinther. Neu bearbeitet von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, etc. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. pp. x. 530. Price, M.7.

<sup>2</sup>Die Offenbarung Johannis. Neu bearbeitet von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, a. o. Professor in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. pp. vi. 528. Price, M.8.

<sup>3</sup>Der Brief an die Hebräer. Von der 5. Auflage an bearbeitet von Dr Bernhard Weiss, etc. 6. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 371. Price, M.5.40.

<sup>4</sup>Die Briefe Petri und Judae. Von der 5. Auflage an bearbeitet von Dr Emil Kühl, etc. 6. vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 463. Price, M.6.

<sup>5</sup>Die Gefangenschaftsbriege. Neu bearbeitet von Dr Erich Haupt, etc. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi. 212, 259, 193. Price, M.10.

Ἰησους, *Sayings of our Lord*,<sup>1</sup> has naturally been followed by lively discussion and by the issue of a number of articles and pamphlets. Among these last Professor Harnack's,<sup>2</sup> as might have been expected, attracts much attention, especially as he favours the theory of a relation between these *Logia* and *The Gospel according to the Egyptians*. There has been a natural but regrettable disposition on the part of scholars, both English and German, to deliver themselves at once on this important find. The result is the publication of a number of opinions of the most divergent kinds and too obviously premature. The interest of the discovery is unmistakable. But it is easy to form exaggerated ideas of what is to result from it. One does well to recall the large expectations which were entertained of what was to come from the discovery of the minute Fayoum fragment of Peter's story. The time has not arrived yet for anything like a well-founded judgment of these *Sayings*, and their bearing upon questions of the criticism of the Gospels. We can only say for ourselves at present that the view to which Messrs Grenfell & Hunt themselves give expression in their modest statement seems on the whole more reasonable than any other. Some things may be said to be pretty well made out, e.g., Harnack's identification of the source of part of the fifth Saying with Ecclesiastes x. 9 (lxx.); the date approximately fixed for the fragment; the metaphorical or spiritual sense of the second and fifth Sayings; the Lucan affinities of several. It is likely also that the discovery may modify our ideas of the early history of the Gospels and the reason for the curious divergencies of many of the Patristic questions from the texts represented in our MSS. of the Canonical Gospels. But whether it will mean all that Professor Rendel Harris, for example, claims for it is another question.

With all that has been written on the Vedic religion the ritual system has received much less attention than should have been the case. We have a number of treatises dealing in one way or another with the Vedic Hymns and with the Upanishads. But a book dealing with the second of the three works which make up the Veda has been wanted. Dr Macdonald, of Calcutta, has the credit of supplying it in his treatise on *The Brahmanas of the Vedas*.<sup>3</sup> In this seasonable volume he gives us first some account of the Brahmanas themselves, Rig-Veda, Sama-Veda, Yajur Veda, Atharva Veda—their nature, contents, and authors. Then, after a general description of the religion represented in these works, he deals in

<sup>1</sup> London: Henry Frowde, 1897. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, 6d. and 1s.

<sup>2</sup> *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*. Freib. i. B.: Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1897. 8vo, pp. 36. Price, M.0.80.

<sup>3</sup> By K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D. London and Madras: The Christian Literature Society for India, 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 211.

detail with the various sacrifices, the gods, the sciences, the natural history of the Brahmanas, their views of prayer, sin, the future life, the position of women, the creation of man, the origin of caste, the Deluge, etc. The book is packed with information, adequately supported by quotations from the books. It is the result of the careful studies of one who has already given us the treatise on *The Vedic Religion*, who has laboured long in India, and who can claim to have had "34 years' personal direct knowledge of the people who venerate these Brahmanas." Dr Macdonald has provided us with a Manual, by no means too large, such as has long been wanted. To the same scholar who, among his many duties, also edits the *Indian Evangelical Review*, we are indebted for an interesting paper, reprinted from his magazine, entitled *Agni, the Aryan God; a Parallel*,<sup>1</sup> in which he writes specially with a view to help Hindus. It gives a comparison of the personification of *fire, sun, and light* in the god Agni with the Old Testament uses of *fire, sun, and light* as illustrations of the Divine nature and character.

Mr Rendall's *The Acts of the Apostles*<sup>2</sup> is a most acceptable addition to our somewhat scanty stock of English Commentaries on that book. It is in every respect a scholarly performance. The Notes are brief, but always to the point. They are given in two distinct sets, one for the Greek text, another for the English. They are particularly good in all matters of grammar and lexicography. In these there is much to be learned from the book. We may instance what is said in the Appendix of the use of *καί*, especially as an intensive adverb (cf. v. 39, x. 39, xii. 4, xxii. 28, xxviii. 28) in the Book of Acts; and the admirable Notes on *μὲν οὖν, ὅστις*, and the freedom which marks the writer's employment of the present and imperfect tenses. Questions of a different kind, e.g., the position of elders, are handled with equal ability. It is of interest to notice that Mr Rendall holds by the usual view that Gal. ii. 1-10 refers to the Council of Jerusalem reported in Acts xv. His arguments in support of this view are given with remarkable precision. An important note on the *Provinces of Asia Minor* deals with the differences between *Acts* and the Petrine and Pauline Epistles in the use of geographical terms. Mr Rendall's judgment is strongly on the side of the Book of Acts as a genuine product of the Apostolic time. A wide and accurate acquaintance with all that went to form its environment makes itself felt in this commentary and adds to its special value. The text

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta: Traill & Co. 8vo, pp. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *The Acts of the Apostles in Greek and English. With notes.* By Rev. Frederic Rendall, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and assistant-master of Harrow School. London: Macmillan, 1897. Cr. 8vo, pp. 366. Price, 9s.

followed is that of Westcott and Hort. Mr Rendall is no hasty writer. The judgments which he expresses on debated questions carry weight with them.

The second part of Dr Rudolf Staehelin's *Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken*,<sup>1</sup> carries the story of the great Reformer's life on from 1523 to about 1525. The former volume dealt with the political and ecclesiastical condition of Switzerland in the beginning of the sixteenth century, with Zwingli's youth and his work in Glarus and Einsiedeln (1484-1518), and with the beginnings of the Reformation in Zurich (1519-1522). This volume continues the history of the Reforming movement on to 1525, and concludes with the narrative of the troubles with the Anabaptists and the peasants. The work is the result of a laborious study of the original sources. It is done with great care, and is likely to hold the field for some time as the best monograph on Zwingli. It is written with a large acquaintance with the circumstances of the time and with a just appreciation of the Reformer's position and work. The narrative of events is given with great clearness and force. It is sufficiently full, without losing itself in the details. At the critical points notice is taken of the Reformer's writings, sermons, and addresses. We hope that the finished work will include a complete digest and criticism of Zwingli's theology. Meantime all students of the Swiss Reformation owe much to Professor Staehelin for this weighty contribution to the history of the Reformer and his times.

<sup>1</sup> Zweiter Halbband. Basel: Schwane, 1895. 8vo, pp. 532. M.4.80.

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